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To

The Sacred Memory

of

My Revered Father

Pandit R. S. Upadhyay

Chowkhamba - Varanasi - Rs. 25/=

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PREFACE

"Histories" says Bacon, "make men wise". To read with understanding the records of men's striving in the past for good or evil, of the ambition of the people and their struggle is always helpful for the knowledge of the present. Indian culture has produced very few works of genuine historiography, but it has preserved abundant material for the historians in the form of inscriptions, coins, sculptures, icons, monuments and other kinds of documents. Dr. H. C. Ray Choudhary rightly observed in his presidential address of Nagpur History Congress that one can get mines of information pertaining to the Indian culture hidden in the dynastic epigraphs. That remark gave me an impetus to study the records of the North Indian dynasties of early mediaeval period and the result of which is presented in the following pages. As for as I know, *this is the first attempt to explore and to examine critically all the archaeological sources* in order to write a cultural history of northern India. The writer has taken the initial step in that direction and it can be stated without hesitation that no historian has utilised the entire archaeological data for writing *"The Socio-religious history of Northern India" from 700–1200 A. D.* Dr. H. C. Ray had a plan to present the third cultural volume of his *"Dynastic history of Northern India"* but that scheme has not been materialised so far[1].

The dynastic epigraphs on the basis of contents can be divided into the following main types (1) Religious, (2) Dedicative and (3) Donative. The first type includes all those inscriptions which deal with preaching of religion or morality. India is rich in dedicative type of inscriptions. Dedicative records mainly deal with installation of images and erection

1. 'Cultural History of Assam', 'History of Bengal Vol. I,' 'The Paramāras', 'History of The Gahadavala dynasty' and 'The Glory that was Gurajaradesa' have discussed the regional history of this period.

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of temples. Largest number of the inscriptions belong to the third type. The performance of sacrifices and distribution of charity were regarded essential for the householder in ancient India. Hence rulers and subjects vied with one another in giving donations. Some of the records deal with donations of tanks, wells, etc.; monetary donation, donation of miscellaneous objects and donation of lands, but from the post-Gupta period to 12th century A. D. large number of inscriptions are concerned mainly with land grant. About 90% of copper plates of our period contain such inscriptions. The study of the records requires a careful examination and to arrive at a conclusion one has to be critical, because the composer of the *praśasti* had a mind to eulogise his patron and obviously we find some exaggeration in the narration. In the second type of donative records the writer has to describe the details of the grants and he has no other thought in his mind. These records casually mention the events of the period connected with the life of the king or some social features of the age. They are very particular to mention the boundary of the grant, the various kinds of taxes to be realised by the donee and the designations of officers concerned with the administration of the land. On the basis of such dynastic epigraphs one has to draw conclusions and make proper estimation of the social and religious conditions prevailing during the centuries from 700–1200 A. D. Moreover some of the readings of the inscriptions do not appear correct and I have to suggest fresh readings (on the basis of decipherment) which forms the basis of my conclusions.

The Numismatic data of the period under review are not very helpful in the construction of the cultural history of the age but they support the epigraphic evidences. Some time the effigy or symbol (or both) of gods on the coins assists and enhances our knowledge of religious history of the age. The coin legends are not less important in this respect. Such is the case of the dated pedestal or image inscriptions which are more valuable than coin legends from several points of view. The sculptures and the images should not be taken on their face value as mere icons of the deities but on

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examination they give best information regarding the date of the ruler, the dress, toilette, and religious trends of the period. It is needless to emphasise that the representation of art reveals the contemporary life of the people, so the sculptures and Iconography are reliable sources for the treatment of various aspects of social life.

The existing temples and excavated ruins have to say much with regards to the religious condition of the period under review. Khajurāho and Bhuvaneswar groups of religious shrines reveal two distinct styles and centres of temples which still attract the attention of the people. The Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jain temples at one centre point out the toleration and sympathetic attitude of the kings towards other sects. The find-spots of plastic and bronze images show the limit of the prevalence of the particular sect in the northern India. Thus the specimens of Eastern Indian school of mediaeval sculpture and the momuments are also the important sources of religious history of this age (700–1200 A. D.).

The ruins of the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā show how the plan was made to accommodate several hundred students residing and reading at the University of Nālandā. The critical study of this period is important for the history of the Hindus in general; for it reveals some of the forces which vitally influenced Hindu society and religion and the mark of which can be traced even to this day. Thus in brief it has been shown how far the archaeological materials help us to construct the cultural history of northern India. At places conclusions drawn from archaeological data have been supported by literary evidences in order to emphasize the view points, although literature is beyond the purview of the study.

The book has been divided into two parts, the first one deals with the social problems and the second half deals with religious History. In all there are twelve chapters each one discusses fresh and specific problem except the first chapter which contains the summary of most of the historical events of the early mediaeval period which have been noted by several historians in their works. Though it is a repetition yet it serves a kind of

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back ground of the picture of socio-religious history of early mediaeval age.

The second chapter deals with the four castes and their ramification. It has been clearly brought out that the classification of the brāhmaṇas was purely on geographical basis. What has been described by the *Skanda Purāṇa* as *Pañch Gauḍa* Brāhmaṇas were really the inhabitants of five different states of North India, which was called by Huien-Tsang as *Pañcha Bhārata* (or *Pañcha Gauḍa*) conquerred by Harsha. The brief history of Maga brāhmaṇa (commonly known as Śākadvīpīs) has been traced out, who entered India via Sindh and lived in the north western India for a long time. They migrated to Bihar where they are residing in large numbers and the area is known as Magaha probably after their name. The name of brāhmaṇa – Brahma-Kshatriya is a new nomenclature known in the Sena period, whose real significance is a problem for scholars. The brāhmaṇas of this age have some obsolete *Gotras* whose lists are found in dynastic epigraphs. The most important topic of the section A. is the question of the migration of the brāhmaṇas from Madhyadesa. The brāhmaṇas of this period could not live a life of six fold duties but followed the profession of agriculture and a few assisted in the administration of the territory.

The Kshatriyas of the period under review were called by another name Rājapūtas. The higher class belonged to ruling families with big and high sounding titles. The common Rājapūtas belonged to militant section who assimilated foreign tribes among themselves. These warriors got rewards for bravery and in the case of their death, the successors received maintenance gifts (मृत्यु-वृत्ति). Jātas were another militant class of people working in co-operation with Rājapūtas. The section C. describes the Vaṇika class who always followed the trade in corporate guilds and the trade was carried in a manner to avoid accumulation of wealth and capitalistic tendencies. The Vaṇika caste had to pay taxes for the respective business. The charity raised their position and they commanded respect in the society. The question of the Kāvasthas and their position in the society have been described

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in section I. Though in the Gupta period, this name connoted a group of persons working as scribes, but in the early mediaeval period, this group formed a corporation of caste. They occupied an almost equal status in the society to *Dvija*. The epigraphic documents are clear on this point and it leaves no doubt that scribes of ancient period formed a caste by themselves and the different sub-castes became famous on the basis of locality. Gauḍa Kāyasthas were more expert in writing good hands and they were invited through-out North India. The fourth caste Śūdra was separated by other group caste who followed low professions in the society and they (the Antyajas) were regarded as untouchables. It has been further discussed that in this period the Hindu kings could not face the onslaught of Islamic forces and hence the foreigners settled down in North India and subjugated most parts till 12th century A. D. Their contact with Hindu population was the cause of reconversion and the intention to purify "*Mlechchhānītā*."

The third chapter starts with the question of Āśramas and the method of self immolation in the age. The epigraphic evidences support the sanction of Dharmaśāstra for immolation and the kings adopted the similar agencies mentioned by Smṛiti writers namely fire, water and fasting. A special method of fasting known as *Kāya Vrata* (in the early mediaeval record) was also adopted by the brāhmaṇas. The life of Sanyāsī and system of Maṭhas have been described in greater detail. In the field of Education the inscriptional evidences are not satisfactory nor do they show the working of educational centres. The critical examination of the official documents shows that the study of only three Vedas—*Ṛg*, *Sāma* and *Yajur* was popular and the fourth Veda (*Atharva*) was rarely studied. Besides Vedānga, Philosophy, Sāhitya and Upvedas also attracted the attention of the scholars and the students. The works on sciences prove that the different subjects were properly attended to.

The fourth chapter deals with the different social institutions. The *Saṁskāras* are mentioned in connection with the donations and land grants. In the case of marriage *Anuloma* and

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Pratiloma were popular and polygamy was the common feature with ruling chiefs. On the basis of contemporary Smṛitis the early age for the marriage of girls had been recommended but the archaeological sources prove that the marriage was performed at the mature age (not before puberty). There was no lack of female education in this period. The Gaṇikās were common in society and even attached to the temples.

Chapter fifth deals with the life of the people in the period under review. The study of the artistic specimens supplies the detailed information regarding the dress, ornaments, Hair-dressing and toilette of the women. The inscriptions describe the use of *Sindūra* (vermilion) and collyrium by females in the society. The problem of food and drink has been discussed fully and it is revealed that even Buddhists used fishes in their dietary. The brāhmaṇas living in the western part of North India also used meat on some occasion. The drink was limited to Kshatriya caste but toddy was a popular drink with the people. 'The Institution of Beggary' is the fascinating problem of the early mediaeval records. The origin of *Sattra* (alms-house) is absolutely a new discussion (based on epigraphic evidences) that has been undertaken in this section.

In this age the *Mantra* and superstitions have made their home in the society. People recited meaningless *dharaṇis* and had faith in heaven and hell and evil spirits. Astrology and divination equally attracted the people. These mythological ideas and beliefs had their influence on the mind of artists who carved out images of Kālī, Ṣaṣṭhī and Manasā etc. for the worship in the society. Besides these topics the chapter deals with the various kinds of amusements of the people and their different social gatherings.

The second half describes the religious condition of the period (from 700–1200 A. D.) and various connected problems bearing on the topic. It has been shown in the sixth chapter that early mediaeval period was the age of diverse religious tendencies and the age of esoteric practices. The people strived for salvation and they followed three different paths to achieve the aim. The fundamental theological position of Buddhist and Hindu tantra was the same and Śiva

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Śakti of Hinduism was represented in Buddhism by Upāya and Prajñā. In Hindu faith all the five deities (Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya and Gaṇesha) were worshipped while the Buddhist paid homage to various deities of Vajrayāna sect. At the close of the discussion it has been remarked on the basis of dynastic records that there was perfect toleration among the followers of the different faiths.

In the seventh chapter the condition of Vaiṣṇava faith has been described after careful analysis of the epigraphic records of this period. Vaiṣṇavism made rapid progress during early mediaeval age, hence large number of Viṣṇu icons have been found in north India. The large number of Vaiṣṇavite inscriptions and their examination show that Vaiṣṇavism made a contribution to the systematisation of Avatāras during the period under review. Though number of incarnation given in the Purāṇas is different but available materials of this period refer to only ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The construction of Viṣṇu temples and gifts for image worship point out the popularity of Viṣṇu cult. Its influence was greatly felt in Bengal and even Sahajīyā (a later Tantrayāna cult) was changed in Vaiṣṇava-Sahajīyā.

Śaivism was equally popular during early mediaeval period whose rise and development have been discussed in the succeeding pages. The dynastic records (circa 700--1200 A. D.) abound with the account of this cult. They state that Śiva was worshipped with different names through-out northern India, but kings of western portion of North India were more devoted to Śiva than rulers of Bengal (East India). The organisation of Maṭhas has also been elaborately described in this chapter, followed by the account of the different schools of Śaivism.

In the next chapter (9th) the problems of the cult of Sakti and the minor goddesses have been discussed after thorough examination of the official documents. It has been shown that Durgā was the most popular name given to the Śakti of this period. Inspite of the fact that the preludes of the inscriptions begin with the prayer of Durgā yet in the plastic art both *Ugra* and *Saumya* forms have been represented. Among minor

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goddesses Sitalā and Ṣaṣṭhī were quite few and were not known to the people before the 7th century of the Christian era. The latter is most popular to this day and worshipped every year on the 6th day of bright half of Kārtika and Chaitra months.

With regard to the cult of Solar deity it has been narrated that through-out north India, the Sun-worship was very popular and hence numerous images of Sun have come to light from every corner. This cult was popularised by Magian immigrants from Iran and the priest became famous in India as Śākadvīpi brāhmaṇas. The iconography of Sun during the period under review is unique and the adoption of seven horsed chariot in past-Gupta period (700-1200 A. D.) can not be explained satisfactorily.

The worship of Gaṇesha, the fifth god of *Panchāyatan* form of Pauranic worship, is the last topic of this chapter. On the basis of archaeological data of the period the names of minor gods, like Kārttikeya and Hanumāna are worth mentioning.

The tenth chapter describes the religious life of the age. The first section deals with the construction of two distinct styles of temples in large numbers and the installation of the various deities. Besides the topics such as representation of amorous figures on the walls of the temples and the repair of the shrines, others subjects namely governing body of the temple and dancing girls attached to those institutions have been described in a vivid manner. The second section covers also the entire problem of religious donations. The sale or mortgage of the gifts is a new topic added to the description of religious grants. The various purposes of gifts, the places of Dāna and occassions of donation have been discussed in detail. Among Ṣoḍaṣa Mahādāna only four have been mentioned in the dynastic records. In connection with general procedure of gift it may be stated that it was done in consonance with Dharma-śāstra together with all articles used on the occasion. With regards to the laudatory and imprecatory verses of the grants it has been stated that no definite opinion can be expressed about the authorship of the verses, because the documents are not unanimous on any point. This is certain that they were not the composition of the drafters of the official records.

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The chapter is concluded with an account of religious ceremonies and the Tīrthas.

The last two chapters (11th and 12th) cover the discussion of atheistic cults viz. Buddhism and Jainism. In the beginning it has been stated that in early mediaeval period (700–1200 A. D.) a composite religion developed out of Mahāyāna and was named Tāntric Buddhism (Vajrayāna). Further it is added that in earlier phase emphasis was laid on *mantra* and sexo-yogic practices. This was the period when images of a number of new tantric deities were prepared and were worshipped in north India. Bengal was the heart of this faith and Pālas fully patronised it. Though Vajrayānists were to some extent hostile to Hinduism we do not notice any retaliatory tendency in Hinduism of that period rather respect for Buddhism. In the end Vajrayāna was assimilated in Hinduism with Buddha as 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Jainism had its limited field and its activities were localised to the western part of Northern India, as is apparent from the examination of the dynastic epigraphs. They adopted Hindu method for the worship of Tīrthankaras. The records show that both the faiths lost their hold in the land of their birth.

Thus an endeavour has been made in the following pages to present a comprehensive treatment of the socio-religious history on the available archaeological data. Therefore, whatever, has been mentioned that advances the existing knowledge of the subject.

I express my profound gratitude to late Dr. A. S. Altekar who encouraged me to take up this work and guided me from time to time. It was due to the affectionate advice of my esteemed brother Pandit Baldeva Upadhyay (Professor and head of department of Itihas and Purāṇa, Varanasi Sanskrit Viswavidyalaya) that I could complete the work in the shortest time. I am also thankful to Chowkhamba Series who took keen interest in publication of this volume. Inspite of my care there are some proof mistakes in the book. I crave the indulgence of the learned scholars for these few lapses.

Patna University. **Vasudeva Upadhyay**
18–2–64

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. G. I.	Ancient Geography of India.
A. R.	Annual report.
Arch. Dept.	Archaeological Department.
A. S. I.	Archaeological Survey of India.
A. S. I. A. R.	Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report.
A. S. M. / A. S. Mem.	Archaeological Survey Memoir.
B. M. C.	British Museum Catalogue.
C. A. S. R.	Cunningham Archaeological Survey Report.
C. I. I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. M. I.	Coins of Mediaeval India.
E. I.	Epigraphia Indica.
E. I. S. Med. Sculp.	Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture.
G. O. S.	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.
I. A.	Indian Antiquary.
I. B.	Inscriptions of Bengal.
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. L. R.	Indian Law Reporter.
I. M. C.	Indian Museum Catalogue.
J. A. S. B.	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. A. H. R. S. / J. And. Hist. Res.	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
J. B. O. R. S.	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J. B. R. S.	Journal of Bihar Research Society.
J. B. B. R. A. S.	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
J. I. Hist.	Journal of Indian History.
J. N. S. I.	Journal of Numismatic Society of India.
J. R. A. S.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (London).
J. U. P. H. S.	Journal of United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) Historical Society (Lucknow).
M. A. S. I.	Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India.
M. A. S. B.	Memoir of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Med. Ind. Sculp.	Mediaeval Indian Sculpture.
N. S.	New series.
Raj.	Rājataraṅgiṇi.
V. R. S. R.	Varendra Research Society Report.
Yaj.	Yajñavalkya Smṛiti.

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The system of transliteration followed in this work.

The following deserve to be noticed.

आ	=	Ā
ई	=	ī
ऋ	=	Ri or Ṛ
च	=	ch
छ	=	chh
ञ	=	ñ
ट	=	t
ठ	=	th
ड़	=	ḍ
ढ़	=	ḍh
ण	=	ṇ
स	=	s
श	=	ś
ष	=	ṣ
ं	=	ṁ
:	=	h

Sanskrit and ancient names spelt according to the above system. Modern names are given without diacritical marks.

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CONTENTS

	Page
Preface.	I–IX
List of Abbreviation.	XI
System of Transliteration.	XIII
List of Plates.	XIX
Chapter I.	
Introductory—	3–20
Political condition of North India and its effect on Socio-religious History.	3
Arab conquest of Sindh.	6
Rise and Fall of Pratihāras.	7
The Tripartite struggle.	8
The Feudatories of the Pratīhāras and the Declaration of their Independence.	11
Political Strategy and the Fort Architecture.	14
Synchronous table.	15
Retrospect.	18
Chapter II.	
Social Condition in the early mediaeval period—	21–103
Section A.	
Brāhmaṇas.	25
(i) Classification of Brāhmaṇas.	,,
(ii) Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas.	29
(iii) Brahma-Kshatriya.	32
(iv) Gotra and Śākhās of Brāhmaṇas	33
(v) Migration of Brāhmaṇas.	34
(vi) Profession of Brāhmaṇas.	43
(vii) The epithets of Rāuta and Thākura.	51
(viii) Name-suffix of Brāhmaṇas.	55

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Section B.

Kshatriya. 57
(1) Foreign element among Rājaputa. 62
(2) Profession. 64
(3) Rewards. 66
(4) Education of Prince. 67
(5) Jātas. 68
(6) Name-ending. 69

Section C.

Vaiśya. 70
A. Different types of business. 71
B. Taxes on trade. 75
C. Means of Transport. 78
D. The status and Economic Position. 79

Section D.

Kāyastha— 81

Section E.

Śūdra and Low castes. 88
A. Śūdra Caste. ,,
B. Antyaja (Low Castes). 90
C. Aboriginal Tribes. 95

Section F.

Islamic Elements in Indian Population. 97

Section G.

Reconversion of Hindus from Islam. 101
Degradation of Hindu Society. 103

Chapter III 104–139

Āśrama and Learning. 108
Self-immolation by Kings. 111
Sanyās Āśrama. 115
Education. 118
Study of Different Subjects. 119
Vedic study. 125
Vedānga. 129
The study of Philosophy.

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History. 130
Upaveda. 131
Sāhitya. 133
Crafts. 134
Buddhist system. 136
Language and Script. 138

Chapter IV.

Social Institution— 140–156
Disposal of dead. 143
Institution of marriage. ,,
Age of girl's marriage. 145
Inter-Caste marriage. 147
Polygamy. 149
Position of woman. 151
Self-immolation of widow (Satī). 153
Courtesan (Gaṇika). 154

Chapter V.

Life of the People— 157–196
A. Character of the people. 157
B. Dress, Toilette and Ornaments. 159–168
(1) Dress. 159
(3) Hair-dressing. 163
(2) Cosmetic. 165
(4) Ornaments. 167
C. Food and Drink. 168–177
(i) Food. 168
(ii) Drink. 173
D. Institution of Beggary. 177
E. Inter-dining. 182
F. Popular Superstitions. 183
G. Games and pastimes. 190
H. Conveyances (Yāna). 193
I. Social Gathering. 195

Chapter VI.

Religious trends and toleration. 197–207
Toleration. 203

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Chapter VII.
Vaiṣṇavism. 208–225
Introductory. 208
Different Names of Viṣṇu. 211
Viṣṇu Temples. 212
Viṣṇu Icons. 214
Avatāras of Viṣṇu. 217
Vaiṣṇava Ceremony and Festevals 223

Chapter VIII.
Śaivism— 226–246
Introductory. 226
Different names of the deity. 228
Temples of Śiva. 230
Śiva images. 232
Institution of Śaiva Maṭha. 235
Donation to the temple and Deity. 237
Different Schools of Śaivism. 238
Nātha Cult of Śaivism. 244
Matta Māyura. 246

Chapter IX.
Śakti Cult, Sun Worship and other Minor Sects. 247–275
1. Śakti Cult. 247
Contents of the Grants. 253
2. Sūrya Worship. 255
Maga and Sun Worship. 256
Sun temples. 257
Different names of the god. 261
Different kinds of Sun Icons. ,,
Mythology attached to Sun. 267
3. The Minor Sects. 269–275
A. Gaṇeśa. 269
Evidence of Icons. 271
B. Kārttikeya. 272
C. Rāma and Hanumāna. 273

Chapter X.
Religious life. 276–337
A. Temples—their Construction. 276
Two Different Temple Styles. 280

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Amorous and Obscene Figures. 282
Pāhārapur and Monastic Architecture. 283
Repair of the temples. 285
Installation and worship of Deity. 287
Governing Council and Temple—Administration. 293
Dancing Girls Attached to the Temples. 295
B. Religious Donations. 298–327
1. Dāna and its purpose. 298
The Three Main Factors. 302
Sale and Mortgage of Gifts. 303
Purpose of the Gifts. 305
2. The Place of Dāna 310
3. Occasions for Dāna. 311
4. Sodasha Mahādāna. 317
5. General Procedure of Dāna. 320
6. Laudatory and imprecatory Verses. 323
C. Religious Rites, Ceremonies, Festivals and Tirtha. 328

Chapter XI.

Buddhism in Early Mediaeval period. 338–356
Vajrayāna. 338
Vajrayāna deities. 341
Foundation of Monastery. 344
Hostile to Hinduism. ,,
Toleration in Buddhism. 347
Respect to Buddhism by Hindus. 350
Decline of Buddhism. 352
Assimilation in Hinduism. 353

Chapter XII.

Jainism. 357–362
Jainism in Central and Western India. 358
Influence of Brāhmanic Culture. 360
Conclusion 363
Bibliography. 371
Addenda Et Corrigenda. 374
Index. 380
Plates. 389

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List of Plates.

		Pages
1.	Remains of Monastery, Nālandā.	390
2.	Marriage scene (Śiva-Parvati).	391
3.	Hair-dressing (female).	392
4.	Mother with child.	393
5.	Viṣṇu icon (with ten avataras).	394
6.	Viṣṇu (Vāmana).	395
7.	Naṭarāja Śiva.	396
8.	Sūrya.	397
9.	Durga destroying buffalo demon.	398
10.	Kandariya temple, Khajurāho.	399
11.	Hārītī and Vaiśravaṇa.	400
12.	Tārā.	401

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Amorous and Obscene Figures. 282
Pāhārapur and Monastic Architecture. 283
Repair of the temples. 285
Installation and worship of Deity. 287
Governing Council and Temple—
Administration. 293
Dancing Girls Attached to the Temples. 295
B. Religious Donations. 298–327
1. Dāna and its purpose. 298
The Three Main Factors. 302
Sale and Mortgage of Gifts. 303
Purpose of the Gifts. 305
2. The Place of Dāna 310
3. Occasions for Dāna. 311
4. Sodasha Mahādāna. 317
5. General Procedure of Dāna. 320
6. Laudatory and imprecatory Verses. 323
C. Religious Rites, Ceremonies, Festivals and Tirtha. 328

Chapter XI.

Buddhism in Early Mediaeval period. 338–356
Vajrayāna. 338
Vajrayāna deities. 341
Foundation of Monastery. 344
Hostile to Hinduism. ,,
Toleration in Buddhism. 347
Respect to Buddhism by Hindus. 350
Decline of Buddhism. 352
Assimilation in Hinduism. 353

Chapter XII.

Jainism. 357–362
Jainism in Central and Western India. 358
Influence of Brāhmanic Culture. 360
Conclusion 363
Bibliography. 371
Addenda Et Corrigenda. 374
Index. 380
Plates. 389

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List of Plates.

		Pages
1.	Remains of Monastery, Nālandā.	390
2.	Marriage scene (Śiva-Parvati).	391
3.	Hair-dressing (female).	392
4.	Mother with child.	393
5.	Viṣṇu icon (with ten avataras).	394
6.	Viṣṇu (Vāmana).	395
7.	Naṭarāja Śiva.	396
8.	Sūrya.	397
9.	Durga destroying buffalo demon.	398
10.	Kandariya temple, Khajurāho.	399
11.	Hāritī and Vaiśravaṇa.	400
12.	Tārā.	401

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THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CONDITION

OF

NORTH INDIA

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CHAPTER I

Political Condition of North India and Its Effect on Socio-religious History.

Introductory.

The main and broad geographical divisions of India known from the ancient times have been the two viz-north and south. In the dynastic records of trans-Vindhyā region (the plataeu) the ruler is described as "Lord of the South"[1] and in the same way the kings of Indo-Gangetic plain were designated as "Lord of the North".[2] These two names were popular and climatic conditions of North and South have moulded the life of the people and strategy of the rulers. North India comprises many states from Sindh to Bengal and from the Himālayas to the Vindhyās. There was no ruler in our period (700-1200 A. D.) who could control the whole of *Uttarāpatha*. Even the strongest kings of the Gurajara Pratīhāra dynasty were not able to extend their dominion over the entire area. Probably none had the correct notion of *Uttarāpatha* and the term was vaguely used in the official records.[3] The same can be said of the other geogra-

1. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 42 (दक्षिणापथपतेस्सातकर्णी)
   A. S. W. I. Vol. V p. 60 (Nanaghat inscription) दखिनपठ पतिनों (a title of Sātavāhana ruler.)
2. E. I. Vol. V. p. 202 line 9
   Title of सकलोत्तरापथेश्वर for Harsha.
   J. B. O. R. S. Vol XIII p. 24 : Vol XIV p. 150. (उत्तरापथराजनो)
   Divyavadāna mentions Uttarāpatha for N. India.
3. Uttarāpatha was also the name of the road from Śrāvasti to Taxila (Barua-Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions p. 219–220). or from Bengal to Gandhara (Pāṇini V. 1, 77) It was not used for N. India (charmical lectures 1918 pp. 42–47) Uttarāpathasvāmin a title for Dharmapāla (The Udayana sundari Kathā pp. 4–6") Uttarāpatha technically means the western part of North India (R. C. Majumdar-the age of Imperial Kanauj P. 56 note 13).

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phical term *Āryāvarta*. The Chāhamāna record speaks of in a very vague manner that the king made *Āryāvarta* once more the abode of Arya by exterminating Mlechchhas[1] (though they were not in the possession of the full area).[2] The synthetical study of the Gurajara Pratīhāra inscriptions points out that the Gurajaras were ruling over the areas extending from Karnal (East Punjab) to the Vindhyās and from North Bengal to Kāthiawara peninsula.[3] Topographically it does not convey the proper boundary of northern India. The records of early mediaeval period do not throw light on the question of the boundary of northern India, because after the downfall of the Gurajara Pratīhāras (10th century A. D.), *Uttarāpatha* was disintegrated and small principalities arose at its place. The *Praśastikāras* were concerned with the affairs of their own patrons who ruled in the limited area of the northern India.

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1. I. A. Vol. XIX p. 215.
2. The Dharmaśāstra Writers (from 300 A. D. to 1000 A. D.) had different view regarding the boundary of modern northern India (Kane—History of Dharmaśāstra. Vol. II pt. II pp. 14–17) but generally Āryāvarta was the term used for the northern part of India. That Āryāvarta was spread between the Himālayas and the Vindhyā upto the eastern and western oceans. Viṣṇu-dharmasutra (84·4) (300 A. D.) states that the country where the system of four Varṇas is not established is known as Mlech-chhadesa and Āryāvarta is beyond that. (On this basis Sindh and Multan regoins should not be included in Āryāvarta i. e. northern India.)

   No doubt the people were discouraged to go to that area (Devala V. 16) but Medhātithi in 900 A. D. (on Manu II, 23 and 24) had different view on this point. He has stated that the country is called Āryāvarta because Āryan culture has spread over the area. When Mlechchhas overrun Āryāvarta (N. India), Kshatriyas were to conquer them and establish four Varṇas. Even Mlechcha country would be fit for performance of sacrifices. The same is echoed from the record of Chāhamāna dynasty (1200 A. D.) as mentioned above.
3. E. I. Vol. I. p. 186: Vol. IX p. 1. : M. A. S. B. Vol. 5 no. 3 p. 63 : A. S. I. 1925–26 p. 141 : Rāj. Taranga. 5, 151.

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There was no ruler who ever attempted to unite the different states of northern India rather the Rājapūtas rally round their own hereditary chieftains in the fortress and struggled hard for political supremacy.

The most important change on the political side was the new name of the country which was based on the geographical factor. When the persians entered the valley of the Sindhu (Hind) river, they called it the land of Hinda and consequently the name of the country become Hindusthān. Secondly Kānyakubja became the bone of contention for all princes of northern India and most important centre of political activity. It assumed the position similar to Pātaliputra of ancient India. The struggle between the three powerful kings (the Gurajaras, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas) was for establishing their supremacy over Kanauj and to declare themselves as the supreme lord (चक्रवर्ती) of northern India. There was no question of national focus or national outlook among the various princes of Northern India and lack of diplomacy and statesmanship was quite obvious.

The age of 600 B. C. was the period when small independent principalities were existing in India but after a few hundred years a considerable change was brought about in the political history of this part of country. Due to the theory of Imperialism smaller states were absorbed into four big principalities–Magadha, Avanti, Vatsa and Kośala. Magadha swallowed up the other three and an empire grew out until it embraced the whole of India. This practical unification of India under the hegemony of Magadha is an event of paramount importance in Indian history which was a desideratus in the period under review and the Hindu rulers could not unite again under one sceptre upto 6th century A. D. Pātaliputra was the centre of political interest (except the period of Kuṣānas) after which the imperial city of Kanauj assumed the same position. 6th century A. D. was the period of scramble of power amongst Thāneswar, Kanauj and Gauḍa but the struggle ended in the establishment of the hegemony of Harsha over large portion of Northern India. The death of Harsha in 646 A. D. was the

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important epoch in the history of northern India. We find that the Gurajara Pratīhāra really occupied the position of Harsha in this region and ruled over a more extensive empire.

Arab Conquest of Sindh.

In the beginning of 8th century the Muslim power had carved out two Islamic states in Sindh (lower Indus Valley) and Multāna. We have to rely on the accounts of the muslim writers for getting some faint idea of the political events of this region as the Hindus have little or no record for the reconstruction of the history of this period. Chachanāma (a late historical romance composed in 1216 A. D.) informs that by 713 A. D. Arabs had conqured Sindh and Multān. This conquest by the Arabs was the final act of drama which began with Arab naval attack of Tānah (mod. Thānā near Bombay). The energy of the Arabs recognised no barriers and they continued to hammer at the frontier gates. By the conquest of Multān the whole Sindh was brought under Arab military control and cities near about became strategic centres and were controlled by Arab garrisons, while the country remained under the rule of Hindu rulers. One such chief was Hullishah, a son of Dāhir.[1] As the name appears the son of Hindu king Dāhir and other rulers of Sindh accepted Islam and Arabic names. The Muslim writers have clearly stated that the Hindus were converted to Islamic faith.[2] We can infer from these accounts that conversion of Hindus to Islamic faith must have taken place in 8th century A. D. after the settlement of muslims in that area. This created a great stir in Hinduism and Smṛti writer Devala[3] came forward to make a halt to this kind of act while he was in Sindh.[4] His movement was responsible for the active compaign of reconversion from Islam. This Smṛti was an aggressive type of Dhārmaśāstra intended to purify those converted by the muslims. The problem of puri-

1. Elliot Hist. Vol. I. p. 201.
2. Elliot-Hist. Vol. II pp. 32-33 and p. 306.
3. A Smṛti writer of 9th century A. D.
4. सिन्धु तीरे सुखासीनं देवलं मुनिसत्तमम्—(Devala Smṛti 1)

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fication according to Devala is to be found in Sindh, Sauvira, Saurāṣṭra, border lands, Konkaṇa etc.[1] where muslim had already extended their control. The political circumstances forced the Smṛti writers to take a bold step and their outlook was so progressive and broad (not conservative) that society followed in practice the gospel of reconversion.

Rise and Fall of the Pratīhāras

The Muslim historians inform that Arab governor of Sindh tried to extend the power from his posts in Sindh and Muhammad-bin-Qāsim is generally credited by Alberuni with having penetrated to Kanauj.[2] It is diffieult to ascertain the historicity of the statement because on the authority of Gwalior inscription[3] we know that the Gurjara Pratīhāra king Nāgabhata defeated the army of Mleccha ruler in 725 A. D. who apparently invaded his dominion. It is true that Arabs were successful in attacking the Runn of Cutch, Saurāṣṭra[4] etc. but in eastward march they could not meet the same degree of success. Among other reasons which prevented Arab armies from gaining success, was probably the steady opposition of the Gurjara pratīhāra kings. For this reason Gurjara (Jurz) came to be regarded as unfriendly to the Arabs. In this struggle the enemies of the Gurjaras namely the Rāṣṭrakūtas formed an alliance with the Arabs who allied with them for political conquests.[5] However, they could gain nothing beyond their two principalities with Multān and Mansurah as their capitals.[6] Even in the middle of 9th century A. D. the Gurjaras were regarded as the greatest foes of the Muhammadan faith in India.[7] Inspite of the hostile behaviour, the Muslims of Sindh, on political ground did not interfere with the Sun temple of

1. Devalasmṛti v. 17.
2. Elliot Hist. Vol. I p. 434.
3 E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 102.
4. J. L. 1927 Vol. XIV p. 13–15.
5. J. L. Vol. X p. 54. Elliot Hist. Vol. I
6. Accounts of Masudi (943 A. D.) Istakhari (951 A. D.) and Ibn Haugal (976 A. D.) Ellio His. Vol. I pp. 18 and 31.
7. Merchant Sulayman (Elliot Vol. I. p. 4)

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Multān and religious life of the Hindus, inspite of their policy of iconoclasm. On the other hand the temple was the major source of revenue of the king of Multān, who derived it from the rich presents brought to the idol by pilgrims coming from most distant places of India.[1] It appears that financial necessity was one of the important reasons why this idol was allowed to flourish in a city which was probably predominantly muslim. Thus it can safely be stated that the political condition necessitated the iconoclasts to change their policy towards infidels. In short it may be summarised that the Gurjara Pratīhāras played no insignificant part in preventing Arabs from gaining success in the Ganga-Yamuna doāb. The Turk conquest took several hundred years when we find the Islamic standard on every citadel of northern India.

The Tripartite Struggle

The early history of the Gurjaras is shrouded in mystery, but while inhabiting to the west of Aravalli hills, they stood as bulwarks of Indian defence against the vanguards of Islam. It was Nāgabhata, the Pratīhāra chief, who saved northern India from muslims invasions in the first half of the eighth century A. D. His power and prestige must have been considerably increased by his great victory over the Arabs, but his successor Vatsarāja consolidated the Pratīhāra dominion by extensive conquests in northern India. Some time after 783 A. D. Vatsarāja invaded Kanauj and defeated its ruler Indrāyudha (C. 779–794 A. D.). He claimed to have defeated Dharmapāla (King of Gauḍa) of Bengal who espoused the cause of Chakrāyudha, possibly the son of Indrāyudha. It was near 789 A. D. that Dharmapāla rallied his forces and marched to doāb of the Ganga and the Yamuna to capture Kanauj. At this stage the military activities of the south Indian Rāṣṭrakuta emperor Dhruva confused the whole affairs. Suddenly he marched with a large army to the north, defeated Dharmapāla and occupied doāb.[2] Dhruva could not gather the fruits of his victory and due to the troubles in the

1. Elliot History vol I. p. 23.

2. Sanjān plate. I. A. Vol. XII p. 159.

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south he suddenly withdrew from the north. This incident enabled Dharmapāla to march to Kānyakubja and to appoint his nominee Chakrāyudha on the throne of the imperial kanauj. About 792 A. D. Nāgabhata, the son of Vatsarāja became the ruler and having consolidated his position he fell upon Dharmapāla and his protege chakrāyudha, He gained a swift victory over them and the Pratīhāra king annexed Kirata, Vatsa, Matsya and Turuska and thus extended his empire from the borders of Multān in the west to Bengal in the East and from the Himālayas in the north to the river Mahi in the south.

This triangular fight for all India suzeranity continued in the period of Rāmabhadra (son of Nāgabhata) whose empire began to crack. The impirial power of the Gurjaras received its greatest set back in the East when Devapāla (son of Dharmapāla) gained his great victories.[1] Devapāla ruled for 40 years in Bengal and fame of his prowess reached the distant isles in Indian Archipelago. Maharaja Bālaputradeva of Swarṇadvipa erected monastery at Nālandā and on his request Devapāla granted five villages for its maintenance.[2] With him ends the glorious epoch of Pāla history. His successor Vigrahapāla ruled for a short period and preferred the life of an ascetic to an aggressive military career.

About 838 A.D. Pratīhāra ruler Rāmabhadra was succeeded by his son Bhoja who became the lord of Kanauj. After his accession he tried to reestablish the glory of his family and became the master of both Kanauj and Kālinjara. This king had no difficulty in inflicting a crushing defeat upon the successor of Devapāla. Bhoja also seized the opportunity to take the offensive against Rāṣṭrakūta King Kriṣṇa II on the bank of Narmadā. This was the end of a lengthy triangular fight and Bhoja having triumphed over the two great rival powers, established his suzeranity over the Punjab, Oudh and other territories of the north. He fixed his capital at Kanauj and seems to have enjoyed the undisturbed possession of his extensive

1. I. A. Vol XV p. 305 (Bhagalpur grant) Ibid Vol. XXI p. 254 (Monghyr grant).

2. Nālandā grant of Devapāla (E. I. Vol. XVII p. 310).

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territories. His son and successor Mahendrapāla added Magadha and some portion of north Bengal to his kingdom and Pratīhāra empire reached to a zenith of success and glory.

The triangular contest in the northern India was terrible one and probably life and property was not safe. The Pratihāra rulers were engaged in their defence and practically had no time to look for philanthropic work. It may be mentioned that the Brāhmaṇas in the absence of royal patronage migrated to Bengal and central India from Madhyadeśa (Kanauj area), where they were honoured with grants.[1] From Vatsarāja to Mahendrapāla it was the period of military activities and no literary work was possible in this disturbed condition. After Bhavabhūti the court poet of Yasovarman (8th century A. D.) Rājaśekhar could find the peaceful atmosphere for literary composition in the reign of Mahipāla (10th century). Thus for the two hundred years Madhyadeśa was in chaotic state and the political condition compelled the Brāhmaṇas to migrate to Bengal or any other part of northern India.

Under Mahendrapāla Magadha and a large portion of North Bengal were added to Pratīhāra empire which was succeeded by his two sons Bhoja II and Mahipāla. The hostility with the Rāṣṭrakūtas which mahipāla has inherited from his predecessors proved fatal to his flourishing empire. The Rāṣṭrakūta king Indra III invaded North India, defeated Mahipāla and pursued him to the junction of the Ganga and the Yamuna. The empire of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla lay prostrate at the feet of their southern rival. After his return to south, Mahipāla seized the opportunity and restored the fallen fortune of his family. Just after 940 A. D. the subordinate chiefs began to assert independence and new powers arose within the empire. The history of the Gurajaras after Mahipāla is some what obscure and during the succession of his three sons, the disintegration of the Pratīhāra empire was completed.

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1. Migration of the Brāhmaṇas from Madhyadesh (J. B. R. S. Altekar Com. Vol.)

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The Feudatories of the Pratiharas and the Declaration of their Independence.

The decline of Pratīhāra empire left the field free for the ambitious chiefs to declare independence. The examination of the dynastic records of the Kalachuris, the Chandelas, the Chāhamānas and the Guhilots etc. clearly points out that these families were subordinate and acknowledged the suzerainty of Pratīhāras in 9th or early part of 10th centuries A. D., but later on they gained such opportunity to become free. Haihayas of U. P. and Madhya Pradesh had extensive kingdom extending to Nasik region but they were driven out of Malwā by Gurajaras in later part of 8th century A. D.[1] This is confirmed by Barah plate of Pratīhāra king Bhojadeva, which proves his possession of Kālinjara *Visaya* in 836 A. D.[2] Kalachuri took part in the offensive war by Bhoja against Gauḍa making it clear that Haihayas were subordinate to the Pratīhāras. The misfortune caused a dispersal of the tribe who confined themselves in Madhya Pradesh and some of the members accepted services under the Gurajaras. After the decline of the Pratīhāra power in 10th century the Kalachuris again succeeded them in the area of central India. This surmise is supported by the record of Sodhadeva dated 1077 A. D. mentioning the possession of Kalachuris of hill fort (Kālinjara, central India) before Chandela family.[3] This is a clear proof of Kalachuri domination after the Pratīhāras.

The Chandelas of Jegākabhukti who rose to prominence in 9th century were feudatory to the Pratīhāras and Nānnuk was the first feudatory of Nāgabhatta[4] II (815–833 A. D.). Perhaps the Kālinjara area was in possession of Gurajara king Bhoja till 836 A. D.[5] and Chandela ruler Harshadeva had loyally assisted Mahipāla in gaining his kingdom. But later Harsha is described to have conquerred many proud enemies and placed Kshitipāla

1. J. L. Vol. X p. 29.
2. E. I. Vol. XIX pp. 15–19.
3. E. I. Vol. VII pp. 85 (Kalha plate, U. P.).
4. E. I. Vol. II p. 300.
5. E. I. Vol. VII p. 85.

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on the throne of the Pratīhāras.[1] This suggests that Harsha was a more substancial figure than any of his Chandela predecessors. His son Yaśovarmana conquerred Kālinjara[2] and probably he declared independence. In one of his inscriptions Yaśovarman is said to have conquerred areas from the Himālaya to Mālwā and Kashmīr to Bengal[3] but it is full of exaggeration. It simply shows that Yaśovarmana yielded great influence and was a dominating personality after the decline of Pratīhāras in central India. The capital of Chandela kingdom was Sri Khajjuravāhaka[4] (the modern Khajurāho, Chhatarpur state) and Kālinjara fort was a type of second capital.[5]

Like the Chandelas, the famous Rājapūta family of mediaeval India namely Chāhamānas were ruling from different centres in the Punjab, Rājaputāna and Gujarāta, Epigraphic evidence supports the bardic tradition that some of the Chāhamānas were unquestionably feudatories of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj. A chāhamāna record dated 756 A. D. shows that the king Bhartrivaddha owed allegiance to Pratīhāra Nāgabhata I (725 A. D.). The Harṣa stone inscription[6] reveals the dependence of Guvaka I on Nāgabhata II (C. 815 A. D.), while the Pratābgarh inscription[7] mentions Chāhamāna Indrarāja as feudatory of Mahendrapāla II (V. S. 1003 = A. D. 946). Thus it becomes clear that during the period C. 750-950 A. D. most of the regions over which Chāhamāna ruled had been included in the Pratīhāra dominion. It was probably Vigraharāja II (A.D. 973, the six generation after Guvaka I) who first became independent from the control of the Pratīhāras.

Before the advent of the Gurajara Prathīhāras Guhilaputras were ruling in S.W. part of Mewar, and the neighbouring areas.

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1. E. I. Vol. I pp. 121–125.
2. Ibid p. 122.
3. Ibid p. 126 & 132.
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 147.
5. I. A. Vol. XVI p. 203 (कालिञ्जराधिपति–a title for Chandela king.)
6. E. I. Vol. XII p. 199–200.
7. Ibid Vol. XIV p, 180–81.

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A Brāhmaṇa named Guhadatta was the founder of the dynasty. From Guhadatta to Mahendra II (550-720 A. D.) the seven successive Guhilaputtras were subordinate or otherwise held a very unimportant position. They held a principality in upper Sāwaramati valley and S. W. Mewār for a very long time. These Guhilaputtras were divided into seven branches whose accounts are unecessary but by the way of information, it may be stated that none of them appears to have held any appreciable power till nearly the second half of 12th century A. D. Upto 8th century they were subordinate to the Mauryas and on epigraphic evidences it may be stated that in later period they must have come into the orbit of mighty Pratīhāra empire.

One of the ancestors named Harṣarāja, we are told, conquered one of the princes in the north and presented horses to Bhoja who must be identified with the king[1] of same name belonging to Pratīhāra dynasty (836-882 A. D.) Again the Pratabgarh inscription of Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla II shows that in V. S. 999 (942 A. D.) Medapāta Guhila Bhartṛpatta II still acknowledged the sovereignty of Kanauj emperor.[2] There is no doubt, therefore, that from about 9th century to the middle of 10th century A. D. Guhillas occupied the position of feudatories of powerful Pratīhāra empire. Like many other dynasties ruling in India, during the period under review, the Chālukyas of Gujarāta and Kāthiawar (ruling from C. 950-1304 A. D.) were under Pratīhāra kings and hence the history of Gujarāta and Kāthiawar before the rise of Chālukyas is mainly connected with the history of Gurajara Pratīhāras of Kanauj. We have many epigraphic records of Chālukya kings throwing light on the problem of their dependency on Pratīhāra rulers. The Una grant[3] dated A. D. 893 and 899 shows that the whole of the region (up to sourthern most part of peninsula) was included in the empire of Mahendrapāla I (C. 893-907 A. D.). Mihira Bhoja himself appears to have invaded Saurāṣṭra and married a daughter of Chalukya feuda-

1. E. I. Vol. XII p. 10.
2. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 176.
3. E. I. Vol. IX pp. 1-10.

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tory.[1] Similarly the Hāddāla grant[2] of a feudatory Dharnivaraha, indicates that Mahipāla I held at least Gujarāta up to 914 A. D. The defeat of Mahipāla I (914-43 A. D.) at the hand of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III had very serious consequences for the fortune of Gurajara-Pratīhāra empire. Their hold on Gujarāta and Kāthiawār grew precarious and that defeat produced disorder in this area.

In this anarchic condition Mularaja, the founder of Gujarāta Chāluky branch fighting for his fortune established his principality in the latter half of 10th century A. D. His grants[3] to the Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of solar eclipses show his glory and prestige in S. W. region. He was succeeded by his son Cāmunda in V. S. 1050 and by his grandson in V. S. 1065. Thus it appears that after the Gurajara Pratīhāras the Chālukyas succeeded them in Gujarāta and Kathiawār and ruled in Anahila pataka for more than three centuries (C. 950-1304 A. D.).

Political Strategy and the Fort Architecture.

It has been over emphasized that after the downfall of Gurajara Pratīhāra dynasty, several small principalities arose in northern India. These states were always fighting for gaining additional territory and secondly their peace was disturbed on account of the fear of Islamic invasions. These Rājapūta dynasties had no plan for national defence but always remained thoughtful for their own safety and protection of their capitals. Therefore the kings had to think and select a strategic position where they could build the strong forts which may prove helpful to them at the time of defence.[4]

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1. I. H. Q. Vol. V p. 129-133.
2. I. A. Vol. XII pp. 190-95.
3. I. A. Vol. VI pp. 191-93. J. A. S. B. 1898 p. 168.
4. आत्मदारार्थं लोकानां सञ्चितानां च गुप्तये ।
   नृपतिः कारयेद् दुर्गं प्राकार द्वारसंयुतम् ॥
   Brihaspati quoted in Rājadharma Kānda of Krityakalpataru of c. 11th Cent. A. D. (G. O. S. no. c. p. 40).

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The critical position necessitated a new type of architecture namely fort-construction which held an important position in the defence of the royal capitals and Rājaputa families. The foundation of new capitals synchronizes with the construction of forts[1] at various places, which in the long run proved fatal and gave a death blow to Rājapūtas because of the fact that these very forts were besieged by muslim invaders at the time of battles. The capture of the fort was the sign of the annihilation of the royal family. They were greatly runied so that the Rājapūtas should not survive. The similar statement was made by Yāmini that Sultan Mahammud levelled to the ground all the forts which the king of Kanauj had in the country.[2] Prof. Habib is of opinion that low caste people who were always kept out side the fort by the kings helped muslim invaders and entered the city along with them[3] for the destruction of the whole edific. This shows that Rājapūtas failed in their strategy and their policies proved fatal to the state. For the protection of the royal families in the fort, the heroes fought to the last but due to superiority in the warfare muslims gained victory. Such was the activities of Islamic armies in north India where a perpetual struggle for territory and prestige was going on among the Rājapūtas. Besides this, the foreigners also levelled a thousad temples at different places as Hindu kings were not united and there was intense localisation of group sentiments.

Synchronous table.

The following table shows the contemporaneity of the kings of different dynasties who fought among themselves at some stage for dynastic prestige and extention of their territories.

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1. The forts of Asi, Gwalior, Kālinjar, Jalor, Multān were famous in early mediaeval period (Elliot and Dowson p. 221–239)
2. Ibid p. 45–46.
3. Elliot and Dowson P. 55 [Prof. Habib's conjecture is open to objection].

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Table of Synchronous kings of early

A. D.	Chandelas of Madhya Bharat.	Kalachuris of Madhya Pradesa	Paramāras of Mālwā & Rājaputānā.	Chāhmānas of Rājaputānā.
700				Vigraharāja Durlabharāja
800	C. 831 Nānnuk Vakpati Jeja Vijayasakti	C. 875 Kokalla	Upendra rāja Siyaka I	Guvaka I Chandrarāja Guvaka II
900	Harsa Yasovarman C. 954 Dhanga	Sankaragana	Vakapatirāja C. 948 Harsa C. 974 Vākapati II (alias Munja) C. 995 Sindhurāja	Vakapatiraja C. 973 Vigraharāja C. 999 Durlabharāja
1000	Ganda C. 1010 Vidyadhara C. 1098 Kirtivarman	C. 1030 Gāngeyadeva C. 1041 Karṇa C. 1073 Yasahkarṇa	C. 1010 Bhoja I C. 1055 Jayasingh Jaggadeva C. 1097 Naravarman	Vakapate II Virasingh Durlabharāja III Visala
1100	Sallkshaṇavarman C. 1117 Prithvivarman C. 1167 Paramardi	C. 1151 Gayakarṇa C. 1175 Jayasingh	C. 1134 Yasovarman C. 1192 Vindhyavarman	C. 1105 Prithvirāja I Ajayaraja C. 1139 Arunoraja C. 1153 Visala Prithvirāja II C. 1170 Somesvara II C. 1179 Prithvirāja III
1200	C. 1205 Trailokya varman C. 1288 Bhojavarman	Ajayasingh	C. 1211 Arjunavarman C. 1256 Jayasingh II Bhoja II	

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Mediaeval Dynasties of North India.

Chalukya of Gujarāta.	Guhilaputra of Saurāṣtra.	Gāhadavālas of Kanauja.	Pāla and Sena of East India
	C. 739 Bappa(?)		C. 765 Gapāla I C. 770 Dharmapāla
	Bhartripatta I		C. 815 Devapāla C. 854 Vigrahapāla C. 857 Nārāyanapāla
C. 961 Mularaja C. 995 Chamundarāja	C. 942 Bhartripalla II C. 951 Allātā		C. 911 Rajayapālā C. 992 Vigrahapāla II C. 993 Mahipāla I
C.1010 Vallabharāja C. 1022 Bhimdeva I C. 1094 Siddharāja (Jayasingh)	Kirtivarman and many minor kings of no importance	C. 1075 Mahichandra C. 1080 Chandradeva	Mahipāla I C. 1040 Nayapāla C. 1055 Vigrahapāla III C. 1050 Sāmantasen
C. 1144 Kumarapāla C. 1173 Ajayapāla C. 1178 Bhimadeva II	C. 1108 Vijayasingh C. 1171 Samantasingh	C. 1110 Madanchandra C. 1114-1155 Govindachandra C. 1155 Vijayachandra C. 1170 Jayachandra	Vijayasena C. 1159 Ballālasena C. 1185 Lakshmanasena
Vaghela branch		Harischandra	C. 1206 Viśvarupasena C. 1225 Keśavasena

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Retrospect.

The political rise and fall of northern India had three distinct stages in the period under review. The first stage is marked by appearance of the Arabs in India and their consolidation in Sind and Multān. Though the Arabs tried to penetrate to the heart of the northern India but Nāgabhatta I, the founder of Pratīhāra dynasty was the king to sweep the first Arab raid out of Gujarāta. For more than two hundred years, the imperial Gurajarās kept the growing Islamic power at bay, thus the Arabs could not strengthen themselves beyond the limit of their small principalities.

In the second stage we find that the Gurajara Pratīhāras led an internal movement among Kshatriya clan and consolidated the territory in order to gain a status of imperial power in India. An imperial hierarchy was built up, other struggling principalities were subdued and the imperial capital of Kanauj was appropriated. Practically the whole of north India was brought under the sway of Pratīhāra power. They held effective check on the foreigners of the north western frontier and the imperial Rāṣṭrakuta power of the south. The Pratīhāras were the Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta in name and substance, but their power was broken in 10th century A. D. by the same power of the Deccan. The weakening of this empire gave Sultan Mahamud his spectacular success for a time.

The last stage of north India was marked by disintegration of Pratīhāra power and rise of several Rājapūta dynasties who were more interested in internal Vendetta than national defence. There was no imperial focus to unite them. The western part of the north India was occupied by the Chālukya, the Chāhamāna, the Chandela and the paramāra families who struggled like dying hero to the last. The same was the fate of the Gāhaḍavālas of the Ganga-Yamuna doāb and the Senas of eastern India who were wiped away by the volcanic eruption of Islam. Though the Indians fought with tenacity and had hatred for Mlechchhas, but none could withstand the onslaught of

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muslim invaders. Indian outlook was that it was a combat of cultural men where culture was fighting Barbarism with unequal weapons.

The victory and development of Islam in India was due to the uncoordinate activities of our social and political units. In early period of Ancient India Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya castes provided the hierarchy which imposed the organisation (varṇāśrama dharma) on the masses in the country by some kind of coercive process. Thus the twice born was divided into three corporations behind which was the tremendous educative and cultural machinary of far reaching potency which the Brāhmaṇas wielded. In early mediaeval period the caste was divided into many subcastes and on the educative machinary coercive methods were not possible in the age. The masses of educated men came into the field of Dharma[1] hence a number of unco-ordinated political foci came into existence in the country. After the disappearance of the Pratīhārās, Kānyākubja no more commanded the national focus and several centres grew in its place. The Brāhmaṇas as cultural agents migrated to different centres because they had nevar accepted Kanauj as only cultural centre of Āryāvarta. It was true for the rulers also. For example when Paramāra Bhoja captured Kanauj, it had no attraction for him as old imperial city. His own Dhārā had gathered fresh association for the king.

The above discussion would point out that the local sentiments were to a great extent responssible for the collapse of north India. Though the Rajapūta heroes fought and died in defence of the land but the north India could not stand against the roving bands of armed muslim adventurers inspired with the lust for plunder and zeal for killing the infidels.

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1. Medhātithi (on Manu VII, 13) has rightly stated that the people obeyed the decrees of the king but king had no power to control the ordinance of the Smṛtis. The king's order did not offend the Smṛtis and even the king derives his title from the common law of the Smṛtis (न तु अग्नि होत्रादि धर्म व्यवस्थायै वर्णाश्रमाणां राजा प्रभवति)

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In such a state of affairs it is wonder why many works were composed on Rājadharma when Indians had lost their independence and sovereignity. It is unexplainable why a book like Kṛtyakalpataru (a digest of 11th century A. D.) was written by the Bhatta Lakshmidhara, the chief minister and priest of Govindachandradeva–the Gāhadavāla ruler when non-Hindu supremacy was gaiming ground in northern India. Under the circumstances composition of summary on *Dharma* dealing with Rājadharma would seem uselss. Sri K. V. Rangaswāmī Aiyangar has explained this anomaly in the following words.[1] The work was composed by Lakshmidhara "To commemorate the entry of Govindchandradeva into the rank of powerful monarchs by some notable action that would capture contemporary imagination and leave a permanent impress of his reign on history. Temples and monuments of bricks and stones however planned, cannot outlast a great contribution to letters and thoughts. It was in this belief that Govindchandra must have planned the compilation of a great digest on *Dharma* at a time when there was a danger of its perishing along with Hindu kingdoms, before onslaught of ruthless and powerful enemy of an alien race and faith."

1. The Dānakānda of Krityakalpataru--Introduotion p. 16 (G. O. S. No. XCII)

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CHAPTER II

Social Condition

Early Mediæval Period (700–1200 A. D.)

The most striking feature of Hindu society is Varṇāśrama dharma the classes (Varṇas) and four stages (*Āśarama*) in which the law books divide the life of men. This aspect of *Ārya-dharma* was not conceived as mere conglomeration of four castes, but it was a social synthesis. This organisation has grown apace with the age and the racial supermacy of Āryanas had been converted to a hierarchy of social corporation. It was divided according to the standaed of culture attained by each social group. The age-old doctrine of the division of society into four Varṇas was the keynote of the whole system of social life. The idea of Varṇa emphasized on duties but system of Jāti laid much stress on birth and heredity. Hieun Tsang has referred to the same four hereditary castes of Indian society together with their respective occupations.[1] We strictly adhere to Jāti in this period under review. The four social corporations theoretically existed throughout the country but they were not water tight compartments. New groups were given place in this scheme by ingenuous explanations. As a result several sub-castes came into existence in the period from 700–1200 A. D:

The first and more important group was those of the Brāhmaṇas. For centuries these Brāhmaṇas created and guarded both the spirit and form of the culture which harmonised the whole country. Pursuit of learning and culture was the principal function of this caste.

When the *Varṇāśrama* system was first conceived, the corporation of the Brāhmaṇas was professional rather than hereditary. The Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas were more or less interdependent, so we find a reference in the *Śatapatha*

1. Waters Vol. I, p. 168.

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brāhmaṇa that the *Śrotriya* and the king were both the upholders of Dharman.[1] The *Aitareya brāhmaṇa* says that the king must first find a Purohita for he was the half soul of king.[2] But in early mediæval period we find the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas as two distinct, separate and compact castes. Varṇa has lost its original significance and became synonymous with Jāti which emphasised on birth and heredity as stated above.

In India the political fabric was reared during the millennium as an instrument for maintaining continuity of corporate existence. It left to a king the freedom to satisfy his ambition of conquest without disturbing the social and religious life of the people. The law (the Smṛtis) construed by a *Pariṣad* of learned Brāhmaṇas could not be over-ridden. Each community regulated life according to its canons.

The king's primary duty was to uphold Dharma. The study of the records of the period under review reveals that kings seems to take special care to preserve the traditional division of society laid down by all the Smṛtis. In the epigraphs they are referred to as the protector of *Varṇāśrama Dharma* (वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्थापन प्रवृतः). Medhātithi–the famous commentator on Manu supports the same view. According to him the Kshatriya king of meritorious conduct could conquer the land of the *Mlcchas* and establish Cāturvarṇyaa there.[3] The study of inscriptions reveals the same thing. The king

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1. Śat. V. 4. 45 एष च श्रोतियश्चैतौ ह व द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृत व्रतौ

   Such idea has been contained in a verse of Yama (राजा वृक्षो ब्राह्मणः तस्यमूलं) Rajadharmakanda (11th century A. D.) G. O. S. No. C p. 173.

2. Ait. 3, 4, 8. अर्द्धात्मा ह वा एष क्षत्रियस्य यत्पुरोहितः ।

3. यदि कश्चित्क्षत्रियादि जातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो मेच्छान् पराजयेत चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेत् (on Manu II, 23)

   Similar idea is contained in Sivalika pillar Inscription of a chāhamāna prince who is said to have extermtnated Mlechchhas and made *Āryāvarta* once more the abode of Āryas (A. Vol XIX p 215.)

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Prabhākara Vardhana– the father of Harsha has been called the protector of *Varṇāśramadharma*[1] and the same phrase has been used for Avanti Varmana in one of his seals[2]. The records of Kāmarupa describe kings in the similar manner. Bhāskara Varmana is said to have restablished the institutions of classes and orders which had for a long time past became confused.[3] It is further described that the king revealed the light of *Āryadharma* by dispelling the darkness of Kali-yuga.[4] Indrapāla, a kinn of 11th century A. D. trled to maintain the old social order[5] in the state. The question was equally important to all kings of different families. Even the the Buddhist rulers of Pāla dynasty had to keep in view the progress of Hindu social order.[6] In one of the records of Dharmapāla, the king has been credited to have provided respective order to all Varṇas.[7] Besides, this Āmagāchchi grant of Vigrahapāla III dated Circa 1054 A. D. calls the Pāla king as the protector of four castes.[8] The *Varṇāśramadharma* was quite intact in Orissa, hence the king Kshemanakara respected the *Varṇāśrama*[9]– the traditional system of Hindu society.

It appears that the kings in India in order to maintain the status quo, interfere in keeping up the social system and to some extent force the people to respect *Varṇāśramadharma*. It may be due to the invasion of foreigners on northern India that the rulers had to protect the social order. Even smṛti-

1. Banskhera plate (E. I. Vol. IV p. 210) वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्थापन प्रवृत
2. E. I. Vol. XXVII p. 64.
3. Nidhanpur plate. (E. I. Vol. XIX p. 118–20)
   आवकीर्णे वर्णाश्रमधर्म्मे प्रविभागाय निर्म्मितो
4. Ibid. p. 75 आकुलित–कलि–तिमिर संचयतया प्रकाशितार्य धर्म्मालोकः
5. Gauhati C. P.–J. A. S. B. 1897 p. 125
   सम्यग् विभक्त चतुराश्रम वर्णधर्मा
6. Banagarh inscription (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 326)
   मर्यादा परिपालनैक निरतः
7. I. A. Vol. XXI p. 255
   वर्णानान् प्रतिष्ठापयता स्वधर्म्मे
8. Ibid p. 99 चातुर्व्वर्ण्य समाश्रयः
9. E. I. Vol. XV p. 3 वर्णाश्रम परमोपासक

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kāras enacted clauses to maintain the solidarity of this traditional system. Devala Smṛti should he taken a step in that direction which sanctioned the reconversion of people back to Hindu fold from Islam. This Smṛti is bold one, an aggressive Dharmaśāstra intended to purify '*Mlecchanītā*'.

In the period under review the *Varṇāśrama* system laid emphasis on birth and heredity and many new castes came into existence. This was partly due to different geographical situations, crafts and professions (becoming hereditary). Some new circumstances such as the home land differentiated Brāhmaṇas and created sub-castes. This kind of development took the same line throughout the whole northern India. Dr. Ghurye is of opinion that progressive assimilation of Vaishya with Śūdra and their division into *Sata* and *Asata* was also a reason for the development of sub-castes which may be applicable to whole of Northirn India.[1]

The study of official records shows that besides four castes (including sub-castes) the fifth caste was also coexisting in this period. Even Smṛti writers have also enumerated the castes in the same way and the fifth *Varṇa* (*Antyaja*) was due to *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* marriages. Alberuni[2] mentioned that there were sixteen castes; the four welknown ones; five semi-untouchables and seven untouchables but the actual number of castes and sub-castes of our period was more than sixteen. Kalhaṇa describes 64 castes who regulated themeselves during the sacrificial feast arranged by the king.[3] In conclusion it may be stated that the ramification of castes was a special feature of the centuries from 700–1200 A. D. The other special feature of our period was the penetration of Muslims to the plain of northern India and the weakness of the Hindus in their political and social economy were the causes of the growth of Islamic power in our country. This created disturbance in the Hindu society and the Muslims seltled in the areas which they conquerred.

1. Caste and Race in India. p. 91
2. Sachau – Vol. I p. 100–102.
3. Raj. Taranga 8, 2406.

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Section A

(i) Brāhmaṇas.

The first and the most important group was those of Brāhmaṇas who stood at the head of social organisation and were devoted to learning and self-discipline. Disciplined life devoted to idealism was the universal test of this corporation and they were steel frame of the social organisation. The Brāhmaṇas had no force behind except that of character and persuasion. They were expected to lead a life of comparative poverty and follow the vocation of teaching of Dharma. They were patronised by the rulers and pursued the self appointed task in the society. From 7th century onwards due to the following of different professions and ramification of Brāhmaṇas Kshatriyas came ahead in the social order and assumed the leadership of the society. During the period of the penetration of Muslims and the growth of Islamic power in India, there was the main question of national defence in the society and it was Kshatriya caste which maintained the martial ardour and protected the land. In brief it may be stated that the Brāhmaṇas in this period could notma intain the original position in the society and had to seek guidance from the Kshatriya ruling chiefs.

(ii) Classification of Brāhmaṇas.

The epigraphic evidences are not meagre but they donot bring us to a definite conclusion regarding the subject of classification of Brāhmaṇas in the early medraeval period. If one takes the present group of the Brāhmaṇas as the representative of older ones, the problem becomes easy. The Brāhmaṇas of the Northern India were broadly divided into five classes collectively known as *Pañch-gauḍa*. *Skanda Purāṇa* enumerates ten distinct groups of Brāhmaṇas including Pañch-gauḍa the other five are Drāvidas of the south.[1] Thus we

1. द्राविड़ाश्चैव तैलङ्गा कर्नाट मध्देशगाः
गुर्जराश्चैव पञ्चैते द्राविड़ा पञ्च कथ्यते ।
सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा उत्कला मैथिलाश्चये
गौड़ाश्च पञ्चधा चैव दश विप्रा प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ सह्याद्रिखण्ड (उत्तरार्द्ध X, 2-3).

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find Pañch-gauḍa consisting of five (1) Sārasvata, (2) Kānyakubja, (3) Utakala, (4) Maithila and (5) Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas whose names were fixed on geographical basis. *Rājatarangiṇi* has mentioned Pañch-Gauḍa[1] in the sense of Bengal beeause the story narrated by Kalhaṇa shows that overlordship of the area (Pañch-Gauḍa[2]) was acquired for Jayanta, the ruler of Puṇḍravardhana by the king of Kashmir in the 8th cent. A. D. The expression 'Pañch-Gauḍa'[3] mentioned in the *Rājatarangiṇi* was different from the sense in which it is understood in othodox tradition. It was not the geographical division but the collective name of five Brāhmaṇas (Sārasvata, Kānyakubja,

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1. Rāj. Taranga. IV, 468.
2. Gauḍa was not merely the name of City (in Northern Bengal) but a far wider area whose limits possibly varied from age to age. Gauḍa was known as capital of Bengal during the Hindu and Muslim periods. The opinions differ on this topic as to the original location and limit of Gauḍa-desa. In the days of Pāṇini Gauḍa seems to have been known as situated in the east (*Aṣṭādhyāyi* VI, 11. 99 and 100). In *Bṛhatasaṁhita* the Gauḍas are mentioned as an eastern people. Cunningham identified Gauḍa with Gonda in Śrāvasti, U. P. (A. G. I. p. 467–69) *Padma Purāṇa* (180. 2) refers to Gauḍadeśa which was ruled by a king Narasingh. Thus the earlier history of Gauḍa is involved in obscurity. The connection of Gauḍa with Bengal in 6th and 7th centuries A. D. can be definitely established (Harhā inscrip, tion, E. I. Vol. IV p. 110 and Apsad record, C. I. I. Vol. III p. 205) Gauḍa kings referred to in mediaeval inscriptions of Hindu period were members of different ruling families of Bengal. (E. I. Vol. II P. 160, 193, 348 : Vol. IV P. 287 : Vol. XVIII P. 244.) In many grants (J. A. S. B. Vol. V., E. I. Vol. XXXIII p. 324) the last five Sena kings have been designated *Gaudesvara*. (E. I. Vol. XXVI Pt. I) Gauḍa thus became the name of Bengal. It was probably in this sense that Kalhaṇa has used the expression Pañch-Gauḍa.
3. Pañch Gauḍa was called by Hiuen Tsang as Pañch Bhārata which were conquerred by Harsha (Watters–Vol. I p. 343).

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Maithila, Gauḍa and Utakala) of northern India.[1] There are many adjectives derived from the names of the places of residence or origin of Brāhmaṇa donees.[2] Hence on the similar ground *Pañcha-Gauḍa* stands for five classes of Brāhmaṇas hailing from five different localities. We can not isolate it but have to give some politico-geographical relationship in order to explain the real significance of this term (*Pañcha-Gauḍa*). The Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas were thus named after the area round about the Puṣkara lake and Ajmer where the ancient river Sarswati flowed and that area from Puṣkara to Hastināpur was called Sāraśvata.[3] It is needless to emphasise that the above nomenclature given to Brāhmaṇas was on the basis of this region and during their movements Brāhmaṇas stuck to the geographical name. The second in the list of the *Pañcha-Gauḍa* are Kānyakubja, Brāhmaṇas who were regarded as inhabitants of the famous city—Kānyakubja, which occupied in this period the same place as ancient Pāṭaliputra. Historians are aware that beginning from the time of Harsha down to the 12th century A. D. Kānyakubja was the famous capital of the northern India and the tripartite battle was fought between Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Gurajara Pratihār and Pāla kings for the possession of this imperial city. The victory over Kānyakubja was regarded as insignia of political supremacy and royal power in the early mediaeval period (7th–12th century A. D.). Therefore it was quite logical for the inhabitants of the place to feel proud of their city and so Brāhmaṇa called themselves Kānyakubja, whereever they migrated.[4] Similarly Maithila Brāhmaṇas belonged to Mithila[5] (North Bihar) which was a famous centre of learning and

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1. The Geographical dict. of Ant. and Med. India by De p. 145 Ballal Charitam p. 2 edited by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri. Serring's Hindu tribes and castes p. 19.
2. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 92 (lines 40–50).
3. De—The geog. dict. of Ant. and Med. India p. 180–81.
4. Their migration would be discussed in detail in the succeeding pages.
5. Historical Geograpting of ancient India P. 236.

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literary activities and which later on developed into an important school of Dharmaśāstra. These Maithilas were thus designated even in the remote corner of Assam where they migrated.[1]

It seems plausible to say that Brāhmaṇas residing in Gauḍa[2] area were known by the specific name Gauḍa (Brāhmaṇas)[3] The last class of *Pañch-Gauḍa* (as mentioned above) was known by the name of Utakala. It is clear on the regional basis that Brāhmaṇas living in Orissa were included in the list of *Pañch-Gauḍa* Brāhmaṇas.

Besides the theory of *Pañch-Gauḍa,* a group of the Brāhmaṇas in modern days are famous by the name of Saryūpārī. This name is not beyond geographical connotation. On the similar principle it may be suggested that the name of the Brāhmaṇas was derived from this area (on the next bank of Saryū[4] river). This area was included in the territory of Gāhaḍavala kings, which extended to the western part of Gorakhapur district in Uttara Pradesha. The inscriptions hailing from Gorakhapur area mentiou *Sarūvārā*[5] or *Saryūpāra*[6] for that region. On the authority of epigraphic eviden-

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1. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 117–124.
2. No difinite answer can be hazarded regarding the time of the foundation of Gauḍa. It is situated at the junction of the Ganga and Mahānandā, 10 miles to the south west of the modern town of Malda near the eastern boundary of Bihar i.e. in the heart of North Bengal.
3. E. I. Vol XXVI p. 263 गौडान्ववायोद्भवः
4. It was also called Ghāgra flowing in oudha (De—the geog. dict. p. 181) This river is mentioned in the records of Gāhaḍaval king Govinda Chandra (E. I. Vol. V p. 114 : Vol. XIV p. 193 : I. A. Vol. XV p. 6.)
5. Pali plate of Govindchandradeva (E. I. Vol. V p. 114) Note 4) गोविन्दचन्द्र देवो विजयी सरूवारो। सरूवार may be taken as corrupt from of सरयूपार
6. Kalha plate of Sodhadeva (E. I. Vol. VII p. 91) सरयूपार जीवितम् :

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ces, it may be pointed out that this nomenclature of Brāhmaṇa (Saryūpārī) was assumed on the topographical basis and to this day Brāhmaṇas hailing from the area round about Gorakhapur (U. P.) are known as Saryūpārī.

(iii) Sakadvipi Brahmanas

Another class of Brāhmaṇas who had no racial connection with *Pañcha-Gauḍa* but was prominent in this period was known as Śākadvīpī. Originally they were called Maga Brāhmaṇas (Magi of Persia[1]) but later on became famous as Sākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas in the Northern India. Magas have long been known in the literary history of India and all the legendary and historical knowledge about this class of Brāhmaṇa is contained in the Govindapur inscription of Gaya district (Bihar) dated Śaka era 1059 (1137 A. D.). In the opening verses of which Magas, who sprang from the Sun, are represented to have been brought into the country by Śāmba. It is said that Aruṇa encircled Śakadvīpa inhabited by Maga Brāhmaṇas (a race of dvija). The first of them was the sage Bhārdwaja in whose line the twice born Magas are included.[2] In short these stanzas point out that the Brāh-

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1. Maga, Magi or Medians were distinct caste as recognised as leader of the subject population in Media—a part of Western Iran in the time of Āryans domination. They failed to bid for political supremacy as leader of people against Āryans. It was easy for them to insinuate themselves into the open place of priest in un-reformed Iranian nature-worship.
   (Encyclopaedia of Relig. & Ecthics Vol. VIII p. 242)
   Maga or Magi of Persia adopted a from of Zoroastrianism.
   (Encyclopaedia of Relig. & Ecthics Vol. XII p. 862)
2. Govindapur inscription E. I. Vol. II p. 333
   देवोजीयात्रिलोकीमणिरयमरूणो यन्निमासे न पुण्यः
   शाक द्वीपस्स दुग्धाम्बु निधि वलयितो यत्रविप्रे मगाख्या
   वङ्गस्तत्र द्विजानां भ्रमिलिखित तनोर्भी स्वतः स्वाङ्ग—
   शाम्बो या नानिनाय स्वयमिहमहितास्ते जगत्यांजयन्ति
   तेषां स प्रथमः समस्तनिगम ज्ञानात्मविद्या पदं
   वुद्धया व्यापृत एव नित्य यजन व्यापार पारीणया

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maṇas inhabiting Śakadvīpa were called Maga. The history of Sun worship in the Northern India shows that Maga worked as priest of the deity–Sun.[1] Varāhamihira has emphasised the same view that Maga held the office of worshipper in the temple of Sun as Bhagavatas for Visnu.[2] The legend of Śāmba (son of Kṛṣṇa) as recorded in the inscription is elaborately told in Bhaviṣya Purāṇa[3] that Śāmba built a Sun temple and local Brāhmaṇas refused to accept the office of a priest, there upon he asked the priest of Ugrasena to get Magas from Śākadvīpa, because they were special Sun-worshippers.[4] The frequent mention of Śakadvīpa in the literature and in the record does not mean that Magas belong to that area but they inhabited the region from where they migrated to India. Even in modern time these Brāhmaṇas are called *Śākadvīpī* because other classes of *Pañch-Gauḍa* were also known after their home lands. The Idea locating them in Śakadvīpa must have arisen from the fact that they were foreigners (Non–Āryan)[5] like Śaka with whom Indians have been familiar since 3rd century A. D. That was the reason that this class of Brāhmaṇas has the papular name of *Śākadvīpī*. Their original name was Maga and after leaving their home in Persia they came to Śakadvīpa from where they migrated to India. Alberuni speaking of Persian priest Magians

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भारद्वाज मुनिर्बभूव भुवनो द्वाराभिपातो तपः
यस्य मुखे मगद्विज महावंशावतन्सोपमः

1. An image of Sun preservod in Varendra Research society museum is associated with priest bearning the same type of costume (High boot)
2. Chapter 60. 19, Brihat Saṁhita विष्णोर्भागवता—मगांश्च साविदेतुः
3. Chapter 139.
4. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa Chapter 139
   मकरो भगवान देवो भास्करः परीकीर्तिता
   मकरध्यान योगाश्च मगाह्येते प्रकीर्तिता :
   The similar story is found in Viṣnupurāṇa (Wilson's, V p. 382)
5. Magi of Persia adopted form of Zoroastrianizm comblned with less exalted beliefs (Ency. of Relig—& Ethics Vol. XII p. 862; Zoroastrian civilisation P. 201)

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says that they existed in India and were called Maga.[1] They first came to Multān where a grand Sun temple was founded and probably the word Multān has been derived from Mūlasthān (Original home of Magas).

The Govindapur epigraph found in Gaya district (Bihar) has some significance. We know that the area round Patna and Gaya districts of (south) Bihar is called Magaha[2] and the dialect is called Magahī[3] This coincides with the settlement of the Maga Brāhmaṇas in a large munber in Magadha.

These Brāhmaṇas are popularly called Śākadvīpī in south Bihar and as a class they are physicians and priests.[4] This becomes evident when we study the very meaning of the word Magi.[5] It (Magi) means helper or curer or averters of evil spirit.[6] They (Maga) were astrologers,[7] magicians and physicians. Their association with Sun is very significant in this respect. In one of the North Indian records engraved on back slab of Sun Image from Dīnājapur (Bengal) Sun is described as curer of all the diseases,[8] hence the worshippers (Magas) naturally adopted the profession of the physician which was inherent in them. The Sun worship was prevalent in the period from 700–1200 A. D. as we often find the mention of worship of Sun (in the procedure of Dāna) in several

1. Sachau Vol. I. p. 21
2. It is just possible that Magaha is the prakrit form of old Magadha. Sherring wrongly describes Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas as Māgadha (Hindu tribes and castes Vol. I p, 102–3)
3. Crierson—linguistic survey of India Vol I (Introductory) p. 149
4. *Patna Gazetter* p. 55.
5. Magi (Median tribe of Herodotus) were inhabitant of Media—a part of Western Iran. Zoroaster was called a Magian per-excellence (Ency. of Relig. & Ethics Vol. XII p. 862).
6. Ency. of Reling. & Ethics Vol. XII p. 862 (The word magic is derived from Maga).
7. In Harṣa Charita (IV) Bāṇa speaks of a Bhojaka astrologer called Tāraka who predicts on Harsha's birth and the commentator states that Bhojaka means a 'Maga'.
8. J. A. S. B. Vol. XXVI p. 147 समस्त रोगानां हर्ता

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dynastic records. The image of this deity was enshrined and temples established by the kings of the different dynasties.[1] Therefore the movement of Maga Brāhmaṇas from the west to the east can be explained on the historical evidences and it shows that they settled in the eastern part of North India in large number.

(iv) Brahma-Kshatriya.

In the last quarter of this period under review an unique caste known as Brahma-Kshatriya came into existence. The Sena records of Bengal give substancial information regarding this new caste. In Devapara Praśasti the king Sāmanta Sena has been described as Brahma-Ksnatriya.[2] The study of other royal documents of the king Lakshmaṇasena adds that the king belonged to Karnāṭa-Kshatrya race[3] while in Barrackpur record the ancestors of Vijayasena are called Rājaputra (i. e. Kshatriya[4]). Though in later inscriptions nothing is said about their southern origin (their migration from Karnāṭa) but their alleged connection with lunar race[5] is never lost sight of.

The examination of the epigraphic data shows that Sena family belonged to Kshatriya caste except the reference of Devapara record mentioning Sāmantasena as Brahma-Kshatriya. The scholars differ in the interpretation of this word Brahma-Kshatriya. Dr. Sena has explained it as Kshatriya

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1. The detail discussion of Sun worship will be done in the next section i. e. Religious condition of this age.
2. V. 5 E. I. Vol. I p. 30 तस्मिन सेनान्वये प्रतिसुभट शतोत्सादन ब्रह्मवादी स ब्रह्मक्षत्रियाणांमजनि कुलशिरोदाम सामन्तसेनः ।
3. Madhainagar grant (J. A. S. B. Vol. V p. 467).
   वीरसेनस्य वंशे करनाट क्षत्रियानां अजनि कुलो शिरोदाम सामन्त सेनः
   (India Office plate E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 5)
4. *E. I.* Vol. XV p. 278 अवानेतल भुजो राजपुत्रो बभूव
5. Devapara record (E. I. Vol. I p. 305 ; E. I. Vol. XV p. 278 and E. I. Vol. XV p. 156). The grants of Visvarupasena and Keshavasena contain the prayer to Moon.

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by caste and Brāhmaṇa by culture.[1] Kielhorn took it probably a mixed caste[2] without giving any sound reasons. Dr. Bhandārkara has explained it in just the opposite way. He was of opinion that Senas were originally Brāhmaṇa by caste but subsequently regarded as Kshatriya when they performed kingly functions.[3] In the present state of our knowledge no substancial conclusion can be drawn but it is more probable that Sena being Kshatriya were devoted to the cultivation of Brāhmanical culture and hence mentioned as Brahma-Kshatriya in the official documents.

(v) Gotra and Śākhās of Brāhmaṇas.

The social organisation of Brāhmāṇas was distinguished by Gotra and Vedic Śākhās which were of fundamental importance in matters relating to inheritance and marriage etc. These Gotras and Śākhās are mentioned in almost all donative records of this period (700–1200 A. D.) and on their basis Brāhmaṇas are differentiated one from another. In a 12th century A. D. record[4] five hundred names of donees are mentioned along with specific Gotra where each one got a portion of the property. This criterian had been adopted to divide them in sub-groups and in the long run one group represented one sub-caste. This principle had been the guiding factor in the case of other royal grants and each donee's name was associated with Gotra. Semra plate of Paramardi has supplied us with a long list of donees with Gotra[5] which shows that

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1. Some Historical aspects of inscriptions of Bengal p. 455.
2. E. I. Vol. I. pp. 305 ff.
3. J. A. S. B. 1909 (N. S.) p. 186.
4. नाना गोत्रेभ्यश्चतुश्चरणं चतुः श्रुति पाठकेभ्यः पंचशत संख्येभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यो Chandravati plate dated V. S. 1150 (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 202–9) No impotance was attached to Pravara which are also mentioned in the records (E. I. Vol. V p. 114; Vol. II p. 344; I. A. Vol. XVI p. 205).
5. E. I. Vol. IV p. 115–6. अत्रि, बाभ्रव्य, बन्धुल, बौधायन, भारद्वाज, भार्गव, चन्द्रात्रेय, दर्भी, धौम्य, गर्ग, गौतम, जाटुकर्म, काश्यप, कात्यायन, कौन्डिन्य, कौत्स, कृष्णात्रेय, जीवन्तायन, लौगाक्षी, माहुल, मान्डव्य, मौद्गल्य,

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Kāsyapa and Bhārdwaja were more popular Gotras during 12th century A. D. This list may be supplimented by Chandrāvati plate[1] and Kalha plate[2] but it is needless to pursue this matter further.[3] It may be added that all these Gotras are not in vogue in the modern society.

Similar is the case of Vedic Śākhās which differentiate one Brāhmaṇa donee from another. Probably all the donative records of early mediæval dynasties contain the name of Vedic Śākhā to which the donee belonged.[4] The epigraphic evidences substantiate the principle of Gotra and Śākhā for separating Brāhmaṇas among themselves. It may be suggested that donees of a particular Śākhā were organised into one small group which later on became the basis of ramification of Brāhmaṇas.

(vi) Migration of Brāhmaṇas.

The migration of Brāhmaṇas was the unique feature in the age of early mediæval period. The records clearly point out that the movement of Brāhmaṇas began in right earnest from 7th century A. D. onwards. Most of the records describe the immigration of Brāhmaṇas to a particular area from Madhyadeśa. There are no cogent reasons to put forth about the exodus of Brāhmaṇas from Midland region but epigraphic

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पाणिनि, पराशर, सांकृत्य, शांडिल्य, सावर्ण्य, शौश्रवस, त्रैकायण, उपमन्यू, वशिष्ठ, वत्स, विष्णुवृद्ध etc.

1. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 202–9 कन्व, कपिस्थल, सारकर, कुत्स, गालव, दक्ष, सारकराख, पीपलाद, जस्क, हारोत, दर्भ & आत्रेय।
2. E. I. Vol. VII p. 87 कात्यायन, काश्यप, कुशिक, कृष्नात्र, कौन्डिन्य, धौम्र, पराशर भारद्वाज, राहुल, सावर्ण, श्री शान्डिल्य।
3. Brough has classified the list of Gotra mentioned in *Gotra Pravara Mañjari* and all Gotras of the records have been enumerated in the chapters II and VII (The early Brāhmanical system of Gotra and Pravara.)
4. See detail in the section on education.

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evidences support the fact of migration from Madhyadeśa[1] area. The area of Madhyadeśa was the strong hold of Brāhmanical culture and religion and probably for this reason Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha describe it as land of Āryas or Śiṣṭas[2] (cultural men) and of spiritual preminence. It was

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1. The boundaries of Madhyadeśa have been referred to and explained in both Brāhmanical and Buddhist literatures. Aith. brāhmaṇa (VIII. 3. 14) mentions Madhyama desh comprising Kurukshetra, Matsya, Pānchala and Surasena. In the Sutra period Āryāvarta (which is practically identical with the country later on known as Madhyadeśa) has been described as lying to east of the region where the river Sarswati disappears and west of Anga and Magadha (Baudhāyana 1, 1, 2, 9). According to Smṛti writer Manu the country bounded by the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyas in the south and from Vinasana in the west to Prayāg in the east was called Madhyadeśa :

   हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत् प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
   प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्चमध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ (मनुस्मृति २. २१.)

   The boundaries of Madhyadeśa (Majjhimadesa) given in the Buddhist literature (Mahāvagga Vol. V pp. 12–13 and Sumangalavilāsinī II, 429) are quite different and that extends the eastern boundary of Majjhimadesa farther towards the east including Magadha and Kajangala (east of Champa) and Puṇḍavardhana (North Bengal according to Divyāvadāna). Madhyadeśa mentioned in Belāva copper plate and Barrackpore grant (Inscriptions of Bengal III P. 16) is said to have been situated between the Himalayas and the Paripatra mts. It appears quite logical on the part of Buddhist to include their holy land in the area of Madhyadeśa-a sacred land of Āryans. Madhyadeśa as mentioned in the land grants should be strictly taken as discribed in Hindu law books.

2. Baudhāyana Dh. Sutra 1, 1, 29.

   प्रागदर्शनात्प्रत्यक्कालकवनद्दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तं मुदक्
   परियात्रमेतदार्यावर्तं तस्मिन् यः आचारस्स प्रमाणम्

   Same as Vasiṣṭha 1, 8, 9

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in the Madhyadeśa that the practice and tradition of Āryans prevailed and customs of this place were regarded with special veneration. It was here that Bhāhmanical rituals and social institutions (castes) were developed. Even from Buddhist literature we learn that the Buddha in his sojourn over Northern India spent much of his time in Śrāvasti (Savatthi) the capital of Kośala (in Madhyadeśa). It was a strong hold of Brāhmaṇas and hence the Buddha had to deliver a series of sermons to convert Brāhmaṇa householders to the new faith-Buddhism (*M. N.*, I p. 285 : Ibid III, p. 290 : *S. N., V, p. 349* : A. N., I, p. 180 of Pāli. Text Society).

The survey of dynastic records shows that Madhyadeśa Brāhmaṇas were greatly respected in Bengal, Mālwā and other places. They were granted lands for maintainance as they were learned people. The study of grants is a testimony to the above fact. Even the Buddhist Pāla kings were tolerant rulers and donated land to Brāhmaṇas. Many Pāla charters[1] record the land grants to immigrant Brāhmaṇas while in the Sena period where Brāhmanism was in ascendency, Lakshmaṇasena alone (1178 A. D.) issued seven land grants to various Brāhmaṇas[2] (migrated to Bengal) besides other kings of the same dynasty. Besides these charitable endowments Brāhmaṇas held the post of ministers during Pāla age. A Brāhmaṇa named Garga was the minister of Dharmapāla[3] and his son

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1. Badala Pill. Ins. (E. I. Vol. II p. 180) Amagācchi record (I. A. Vol. XIV p. 166: Vol. XXI p. 97–101). Banagarh Praśasti of Mahīpāla (E. I. Vol XIV P. 324) mentions gift to Brāhmana Krisnaditya Sharman, an immigrant from Hastipāda and other from Kausambi (Sen–Introd. P. XXV).
2. Barrackpur (E. I. Vol. XV p. 278–86); Naihati (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 156); Govindapur (I. B. p. 92), Tarapandihi (E. I. Vol. XIII p. 6–10); Anulia (J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX p. 61–65); Madhainagar (J. A. S. B. Vol. V N. S. p. 467); Sundarban (I. B. p. 168–72) of Lakshmaṇasena. नाना शाखाध्यायिभ्यो नाना नामभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः।
3. Badola Pill. Prasasti (E. I. Vol. II p. 160)

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Darbhapāṇi held the same office in the reign of Devapāla.[1] In the same record of Dharmapāla (770–815 A. D.) Garga is said to have migrated from Pañchāla country (Madhyadeśa, modern U. P.). There is also another instance of immigration from Lāta (Gujarata) and that Brāhmaṇa was put in the charge of the temple of Nun-Nārāyaṇa.[2] Āmagācchi[3] plate of Vigrahapāla I (954–857 A. D.) and Baṇgaon[4] plate of Vigrahapāla III (1055 A. D.) describe the migration of Brāhmaṇa from Kolañcha or Krodemcha (Kanauj) area; where as in the reign of Mahipāla (992–1040 A. D.) Brāhmāṇ donee came from Hastipāda[5] (Madhyadeśa) to Bengal.

Other immigrations from the same village have been recorded in the grants of Orissa,[6] where Hastipāda is mentioned in

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1. Gauda Lekhamala p. 72.
2. E. I. Vol. IV. 250 (लाटद्विज).
3. Ibid Vol. XV p. 298 : I. A. Vol. XXI pp. 97–101.
4. E. I. Vol. XXIX p. 56 छांदोग्य शाखाध्यायिनं मीमांसा व्याकरण तर्क विद्याविदे कोलाञ्च विनिर्गताय श्रीघाण्टूकशर्मने. Though the identification of Kolañcha is not certain and final still the wave of migration of the Brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa shows that learned Brāhmaṇas were invited to Bengal, respected and endowed with grants. Thus that Kolancha may be the famous city of Kanauj. The history of the age and trend of immigration are in the favour of this identification (with Kanauja). Some scholars identify it With Kulañca in Bogra district (Kolanca situated within the locality of Śrāvasti in Bengal–Early History of Bengal Vol. II p. 38). We know that from the time of Dharmapāla Brāhmaṇas were migrating to Bengal from Madhyadeśā and probably that continued also in the reigns of Vigrahapāla I (854–857 A. D.) and Vigrahapāla III (1055 A. D.). In Bangaon (N. Behar) Brāhmaṇa might have come from Kanauj rather than Kulafica in Bogra district.
5. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 325 हस्तिपाद ग्राम-विनिर्गताय।
6. Kudopuli grant of Mahābhavagupta II (11th century A. D.) E. I. Vol. IV p. 254.

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Madhyadeśa.[1] In the records of Mahāśivagupta II the Brāhmaṇa donee Śaṅkhapāṇi has been described as immigrant from Madhyadeśa[2] and other donee from Śrāvasti Mandal (U. P.)[3] and some more migrated from Kalañca (Kanauja)[4] in 10th century A. D. to Orissa. Copius references of this nature are found in several other grants of the kings ruling in this age. For instance Silimpur Praśasti of Prahāsa[5] records that his ancestors (Brāhmaṇa of Bhārdvaja family) originally lived in Tarkāri or Tarkhāri within Śrāvasti Janapada[6] (U. P.) from where they migrated to Bālagrāma—an ornament of Vārendra (Bengal). Similarly the donee Bhojavarmana[7] (Circa 1100 A. D.) the great grandson of Pitāmbardevaśarman migrated from Madhyadeśa and he was living in village Siddhala (North Rādha). Even the Barrackpur grant[8] of Vijayasena (C. 1097–1159 A. D.) refers to a Brāhmaṇa donee immigrant from Madhyadeśa. Thus the analysis of the records shows that Bengal attracted large number of Brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa.[9]

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1. Sāhitya Parisada Patrikā 1341 B. S. (1934 A. D.) p. 25. In my opinion probably Hastipāda and Hastigrāma were one and the same and former may be identified with latter. Hastigrāma is mentioned in Kalha plate of Sodhadeva situated in Gorakhapur district of Uttar Pradesa (E. I. Vol. VII p. 92). Tne same village is mentioned in Dīgha Nikāya (II p. 123) and Samyutta Nikāya (IV p. 109) stating that the Buddha in course of his journey from Rajagriha to Kuśīnagara passed through Hatthigāma. Thus it is clear that Hastipāda or Hastigrāma or Hatthigāma was located in Madhyadeśa.
2. Cuttach grant (E. I. Vol. III p. 351).
3. Patna grant (J. A. S. B. 1905 Vol. I (N. S. p. 8–12).
4. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. II p. 405.
5. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 283–95.
6. I. A. Vol. XLVIII p. 280; I. H. Q. Vol. X p. 477.
7. Belava grant—(E. I. Vol. XII p. 43) मध्यदेश विनिर्गताय ।
8. E. I. Vol. XV p. 278–36.
9. Besides epigraphic evidences some scholars rely on the authority of Kulapanjikas and hold that five Brāhmaṇas were imported to

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Bengal and Orissa were not the only provinces where the Brāhmaṇas have been significantly described as *'Madhyadeśa Vinirgata'* in official records but the documents of other dynasties also narrate the same phenomena.

The record of Paramāra king Vakapati Raja II is a very important historical document from this point of view. This copper plate[1] (dated V. S. 1038–981 A. D.) mentions the names of twentysix Brāhmaṇas who came from different lands and settled in Mālawā. They received special preference due to their migration. Some one is said to have migrated from Kanopa in Magadha,[2] a few from Madhyadeśa[3] and Other donees migrated from Kulāñchā[4] and Madhupalika[5] villages. The same record mentions immigration of Brāhmaṇas to Mālwā from Vilvagavas in South Rāḍha[6] (Bengal); from

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Bengal from Kānyakubja by king Ādiśura (I. H. Q. Vol. XI p. 70–4). According to Bengal tradition Ballālasena was the founder of Kulinism in Bengal (Those immigrants were called Kulina Brāhmaṇas). This introduction of Kulinism has been doubted and the recent historical researches have shown that little reliance can be placed on Kulapanjika. It is significant that no land grant of Ballālasena or of his successors refers to this institution, though in most of the cases the records mention gifts to Brāhmaṇa families.

1. E. I. Vot. XXIII p. 102; I. A. Vol. VI pp. 48–53.
2. Ibid p. 109 मगध देशान्तः पातिकणोपा भट्ट ग्राम विनिर्गत सांकृत्य गोत्र वह्वृच शाखिने ब्राह्मण सर्वानन्दाय।
3. Ibid मध्यदेशान्त पातित्यक भट्टग्राम विनिर्गत वशिष्ठ गोत्र छांदोग्य शाखिने ब्राह्मण।
4. Kulāñchā may be another form of Kolañcha or Krodancha (Kanauj) which is also referred to in Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena (E. I. Vol. XV). It (Kanauja) was the original place of Brāhmaṇas who received grants in other provinces. (कुलांचा ग्राम विनिर्गत—E. I. XXIII p. 109).
5. Madhupalika may be Majhowali in Deoria district of Uttar Pradesh. The home of Sarjūpārī Brāhmaṇas.
6. E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 109 दक्षिण राढ़न्त पातिविल्व गवास विनिर्गत।

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Paundarik in Uttara Kuru[1]; from Nandipur in Lātadesa[2] and from many other villages[3] not yet identified.

Another record of the same dynasty[4] mentions the ancestors of Brāhmaṇa donee named Bhāilāya as immigrant from Chcchinccha town and to him the land was granted. We know from the above record of Vākapati Rāja that Bhāilāya came from Lātadesa.[5] Therefore on the analogy of names and Śākhā the place Chcchinccha must be in Lātadesa. A grant from Ujjain[6] shows that Brāhmaṇa from Karnāṭa deśa (from Belluvalla near Badami) migrated to Mālwā in 1022 A. D. It appears that the Brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa, Magadha, South Rādhā, Lātadeśa and Karnāṭsdeśa migrated to Ujjain area as they were welcomed in the court of Paramara kings with honour and lands were gifted to them.

Besides Bengal and Mālwā Brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa (Preferably from Kanauj) migrated to Kashmira[7] and extreme south in Pandyadeśa.[8] Rajatarangini states that Didda constructed Maṭha for the residence of people from Madhyadeśa[9] and Lāta.

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1. Ibid. उत्तर कुल देशान्तः पाति पौण्डरिक भट्ट ग्राम विनिर्गत ।
2. Ibid. P. 110. नंदिपुर लाटदेश विनिर्गत काश्यप गोत्र माध्यन्दिन शाखिने ब्राह्मण भाइलाय ।
3. Villages Kāvada, Chamamba, Aviva, Sravana bhadra, Mithulapāka and Khara jurika etc. are mentioned from where Brāhmaṇas migrated to Mālwā. मध्यदेशान्त पातिमञ्जुस्थान विनिर्गत (E. I. XXV p. 61).
4. Banswara plate dated V. S. 1076 (E. I. Vol. XI p. 183) ब्राह्मणभाइलाय...माध्यन्दिन शाखायैक च्छिछास्थान विनिर्गत पूर्वजाय
5. Ante foot note.
6. I. A. Vol. VI p. 53.
7. Raj Taranga. 1. 117.
8. Madras Museum plate (I, A. 1893 p. 74).
9. Raj Taranga. VI 1300: It is also stated that Brāhmaṇas born in the land of Arya (Antarvedi) were induced to accept Agrahara (Targa. 1, 341).

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The Chandela kings equally extended their patronage to learned Brāhmaṇas and hence we find migration of Brahmaṇas to Kālinjara area. Trailokyavarmadeva. (1205–1241 A. D.). was a most powerful ruler and recovered all his dominion from the muslims. He also conqured Rewa and Ḍahalamaṇḍala and the muslims were repulsed twice. It is learnt from his record that Brāhmaṇa from six different places migrated to Kālinjara[1] and lands were donated to them. These places have not been identified but it can be suggested that they were situated in Madhyadeśa. After the death of Maudūd in 1049 A. D. his son Mahmūda (1075 A. D.) advanced further into the interior and captured Kanauj and Agra. Probably during this period of turmoil Brāhmaṇas must have left Madhyadeśa rigion and migrated to Kālingara a centre of Hindu culture in the reign of victorious monarch Trailokyavarma.

Similar cases of migrations of Brāhmaṇas to East Bengal are referred to in Cheedinlasa plate[2] of Ganga king Devendravarmana and other in Keoār viṣṇu image inscription.[3] It is true that many Brāhmaṇas from North and West Bengal migrated to East Bengal (Now Pakisthan) which was probably due to the fall of political power in Gauḍa. It has been known from the charter of Paramāra king Vakapati Rāja that Brāhmaṇas from South Rāḍha migrated to Mālwā in the latter part of 10th century A. D. when Pāla rule was declining. Therefore it becomes clear that Brāhmaṇas left the distrurbed area and migrated to safe places where they were honoured and granted lands.

The Kalachuri records have the similar story to relate that lands granted to Brāhmaṇas for their settlement at a particular place called *Brahma Stamba.* Karṇa is said to have

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1. E. I. Vol. XX, p. 127 कुम्भटो भट्टग्राम विनिर्गताय मुहांथ भट्टाग्रहार, किरायिडविषयान्तः पातिसगौडो ग्रामोपगातान ब्राह्मणान् सुताउथ भट्टाग्रहार विनिर्गतेभ्यो डाही विषयान्तः टुमटुमा ग्रामोपगतान वेदेसैथ विषयान्तः पाति कोकड ग्रामगतान ब्राह्मणान् (Ibid pp. 129. 130 133).
2. J. Andhra Hist. Res. Society Vol. II p. 149.
3. E. I. Vol. XVII p 355.

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invited Brāhmaṇas to reside at the newly founded town on the bank of the Ganga and other was Karnavela (Kkaira plate of yasah karṇa yr. 823 : C. I. I. Vol IV pt I p. 19 and 293).

Concluding the discussion it may be suggested that owing to the disturbed condition of their home land Brāhmaṇas migrated to Mālwā, Kālingara and Bengal regions from Madhyadeśa in search of Patronage. We know that in the post-Harsha period, three great powers-the Gurajara Pratihāras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pālas were fighting for the possession of Kanauj city. The struggle continued for more than 150 years between these three rival dynasties. It is just possible that with victorious army of Dharmapāla Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj might have migrated to Bengal. Further we know that Bhoja pratīhāra was the undisputed king of Kanauj till 885 A. D. and Pratīhāra kindom included Magadha and North Bengal under Mahendrapāla (885-910 A. D.). Though Pratīhāra empire was extensive and prosperous but the king had no leisure to look after other social or religious work. Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III invaded Northern India and after defeating Mahipāla devastated the imperial city of Kanauj. This event took place in early part of 10th century A.D. and the prestige of the Pratīhāras sustained a serious blow. Just after one hundred years (1019 A, D.) Sultan Mahmīd invaded Kanauj, captured the fort that guarded this imperial city and the people of the area were plundered. These political events go to show that Kanauj and Madhyadeśa areas were under the threat of enemies and no cultural activities were possible under such chaotic conditions. That was perhaps the reason that Brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa migrated to North Bengal in the time of Dharmapāla and muslim invasions caused their migration to Mālwā in the 10th century A. D. These Brāhmaṇas moved to a place of peace and prosperity most probably in search of some livelihood. They never thought of western side of India as muslims had occupied Sindh and the Punjab. moreover there was an opposite flow of Brāhmaṇas from west i. e. Lāta (Gujarāta) towards east up to Bengal. Similar idea has been expressed by Alberuni that it was thought sinful for a Brāhmaṇa to cross the Chambala and enter the area

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beyond the Chambala and the Indus.[1] The following chart will supplement the above description.

Migration from Madhyadeśa

(1) Bengal from 8th C. to 12th C. A. D.	(2) Mālwā 10th Cent. A. D.	(3) Kālingara 12th Cent. A. D.

(vii) Professions of Brahmanas.

Brāhmaṇas, for centuries, created and guarded the culture of Hindu society, and in the period under review they practically lived in conformity with canonical injunctions.[2] In the epigraphs of this age they are credited with living a holy life and said to have also practised assiduously the six fold duties viz. *Yajña* (offering sacrifice), *Yājna* (officiating at sacrifices) *Adhyayana* (study), *Adhyāpana* (Teaching Veda) *Dāna* (giving gifts) and *Pratigraha* (receiving gifts[3]). According to Smṛtikāras, the study of Veda, offering sacrifices and giving gifts are said to have enjoyed by Dvija, but teaching of Veda, officiating at the sacrifices and receiving gifts are the privileges of the Brāhmaṇas.[4] Copious references are witness to this and the records describe Brāhmaṇas as well versed in Veda and Vedānga.[5] The study of different Vedic Śākhās has also been enumerated therein.[6] These go to show that the foremost duty of Brāhmaṇas was to pursue the Vedic study

1. Sachau Vol. II p. 134–3.
2. कर्म विप्रस्य यजनं दानमध्ययनं प्रतिग्रहोऽध्यापनं च याजनं चेति वृत्तयः (अत्रि १३) षटकर्माणि ब्राह्मणस्य-स्वाध्यायाध्यनमध्यापनं यजनं याजनं दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चेति (वशिष्ठ २, २०)।
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 146 षट्कर्माभिरता·····ब्राह्मणाः Ibid Vol. XX p. 128 वेद वेदांग इतिहास पुराण मीमांसा व्याख्यान तत्पराय षट्कर्माभिरताय ब्राह्मणाय I. A. Vol. XVII p. 226 यजन याजनाध्ययन अध्यापन दान प्रतिग्रह षटकर्म रतेभ्यः।
4. Manu 1, 88–90; Yaj 1, 118–119; Attri 13–15.
5. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 194 (वेद वेदांग पारग) Vol. XX p. 128; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 19.
6. The detail discussion will be done in the next chapter.

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and this was accomplished by them. Having completed their study, Brāhmaṇas took the profession of a teacher and taught pupils in their homes or in some kind of institution. Even Alberuni noticed that the Brāhmaṇas taught the Vedas to the Kshatriyas.[1] The Smṛtis also lay down that it is the duty of the king to support Śrotriyas (Brāhmaṇas learned in Veda) and Brāhmaṇas who are incapable of struggling for their maintenance.[2]

The idea set before Brāhmaṇas was that of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, but he has to approach a king for his livelihood.[3] We also find good many references in the records of early mediaeval dynasties where Brāhmaṇas acted as donees and accepted the grants. It is difficult to say whether they extended their requests to that limit. On the other hand the donor secured merits by making gifts to the Brāhmaṇas. It is stated by Smṛtiwriters that gifts given to a Brāhmaṇa (by caste) to a Śrotriya or Āchārya and to one who has completely mastered all the Vedas, confer merits which is twice, a thousand times and infinite number of times respectively.[4] Thus it is evident that learned Brāhmaṇas while following the profession of the teacher (Āchārya) were given gifts by the different rulers and the rich persons.

Pratigraha was a special privilege of Brāhmaṇas and it was also a source of livelihood. According to Yama the receiving of gifts from a worthy person was superior to the acquistion of wealth by teaching or by officiating as a priest.[5] In the official records of different dynasties several references are found where Brāhmaṇas were given grants by the kings

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1. Sachau Vol. I p. 125.
2. Yaj. III. 44; Attri. 24; ब्राह्मणन्वेद विदुषः सर्वशास्त्र विशारदान् ।
   Manu 7, 134 : तत्र वर्षति पर्जन्यो यत्रैतान्पूजयेन्नृपः ।
3. Yaj. I, 100.
4. Daksa III, 28; Vedavyas IV, 42 : सममब्राह्मणेदानं द्विगुणं ब्राह्मणब्रुवे
   सहस्र गुणमाचार्ये अनन्तं वेद पारगे ।
5. Yama quoted in Smṛti Chandrika I, p. 179 :
   प्रतिग्राहाध्यापन याजनानां प्रतिग्रहं श्रेष्ठतम ।

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or charitable endowment were made in their favour by wealthy donors.[1] Some time even one inscription contains the names of hundred Brāhmaṇa donees.[2] This does not mean that idea of poverty of Brāhmaṇas was the cause of such donations, but gifts were made to gain merits by the donor and the Brāhmaṇas did accept those gifts of properties.[3] It is not to be supposed that non-acceptance of gifts was only an ideal hardly ever acted upon by the Brāhmaṇas. Silimpur inscription of Brāhmaṇa Prahāsa informs us that the king requested some learned Brāhmaṇa who was highly qualified and esteemed in the society, to accept the gift of 900 gold coins along with the property yielding the income of one thousand coins, but it was refused by him.[4] Another epigraph of Chedi dynasty states that a Brāhmaṇa (Dvijarāja) named Somarāja built a temple of Śiva Kedāreswar at Malhar.[5] Thus it is clear that Brāhmaṇa did not always accept the gift; or were after wealth or land grants on account of poverty but some of them made gifts for religious purposes from his own income.

The records of this period (700–1200 A. D.) inform that though Brāhmaṇas devoted their times in pursuit of knowledge and more or less habituated to adopt teaching profession, they later on deviated from the traditional system. That profession of teaching Veda could not have brought sufficient money to Brāhmaṇas hence they took the work of priest[6] in

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1. See detail in the chapter on 'Dāna'.
2. E. I. Vol. XIX ; Ibid Vol. IV. (Semara plate)
3. Mediaeval grants describe various purposes of the gifts and among them acquisition of merit and fame were the main causes of grants. This is a common feature of mediaeval records.
4. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 283–292 : हैम्नां शतानि नव निर्भरमर्थ्यमानो
   नैवाददे दश शतोदय शासनं च ।
5. Record of Jaggaladeva dated 919 A. D. (E. I. Vol. I p. 40)
6. E. I. Vol. IX p. 107 : The actual word for priest is Purohita (J. A. O. S. Vol. VII p. 47) or Mahapurohita (E. I. Vol. IV pp. 97). The latter is identical to former with addition of word Mahā as we find in may official titles in early mediaeval age.

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the temples or some became the royal priest or family Guru of the kings[1] (i. e. Rājaguru).

The family priest of the king was known by the common designation Purohita or Mahāpurohita and probably due to his close association with the king that priest found a place among the officials of the state in the period under review. The records of Gāhaḍavāla, Paramāra, Kalachuri, Pratīhāra Pāla and Sena dynasties invariably contain the name of Purohita.[2] Probably the function of Purohita was restricted to religious activities of the state. He may be equated with *Mahādharmādhyaksha* of Sena inscription[3] and *Mahādharmādhikaraṇika*[4] of Kalachuri grant. The examination of these records makes it clear that large number of Brāhmaṇas took to priestly work and as such they were respected in the society. In an inscription of king Jayachandra (dated 1177 A. D.) the Brāhmaṇas donee has been described as outstanding priest in the social order.[5] Out of regard to these priests, kings honoured them by including in the rank of officers of the state.

It is needless to say that priests wore attached to the temples constructed in large numbers by the kings during these centuries (700–1200 A. D.). It was a major kind of

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Such as Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra, Mahāsenāpati, Mahāsandhivigrahika etc. (E. I. Vol. XVI p. 299, 304; Vol. XI p. 141; E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 325).

1. It would not be out of place to mention that Kielhorn mistook Mahāpurohita as identical with Mahāguru (Mahāguru Shri Vāsavachandra) mentioned in Khajuraho records (E. I. Vol. I. p. 136). He has translated Mahāguru as high priest of the king. Here he is wrong in his conjecture. We find Mahāpurohita and Mahārāja Guru used separately in the official record (E. I. Vol. XXI p. 95). It is quite possible that Brāhmaṇa acted as religious teacher of Kshatriya kings.
2. E. I. Vol. XII p. 8; Vol. XXI p. 92; Vol. XI p. 141; Vol. VII P. 99; Vol. XVIII p. 222; Vol. XIX p. 17 and Vol. V.
3. E. I. Vol. XII p. 8.
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 141.
5. E. I. Vol. IV p. 129 : देव श्री लोकोत्तर बौधायन गोत्र पुरोहित ।

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religious activities of the monarchs as recorded in the documents[1] and sufficient number of grants were gifted for *Bali* (offering) and *Charu* (oblation) to gods installed in those temples.[2] The Brāhmaṇas acted as priest and probably head of temple organisation as they were mostly religious minded. Hence they were inclined towards priestly work as the first step in their diverse profession.

In these temples probably the priests acted as *Vyās* and recited Purāṇa and other religious texts. These type of Brāhmaṇas (*Kathā Vāchaka*) were paid in cash[3] (Dramma). A similar reference is found in Pāla grant where Vateśwara Śarmana used to read Mahābhārata to the queen.[4]

The other profession adopted by Brāhmaṇas was that of astrologer. He was not an officer as Purohita in the state but his presence was badly felt by the king. In the inscriptions of 12th century A. D. the astrologer has been mentioned along with physician[5] and with Thākur Brāhmaṇa in the offical records of king Visaladeva.[6] It is anomalous to say that the astrologers were Brāhmaṇas by caste but the nature of work suggests that except Brāhmaṇa nobody could do full justice with work. Moreover no other caste had time to devote for prophecy[7] and prediction of superstitions. That astrologer studied astrology, Sidhanta and horoscope in order to be

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1. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 74; Vol. I p. 186; Vol. XV p. 311; Vol. XIII p. 286. (See the chapter on religious life).
2. E. I. XIX p. 120, 124 and 175; Vol. V p. 116; Vol. VII p. 95; Vol. IX pp. 13 and 325; Vol. XVII p. 322; Vol. I p. 173; Vol. XXVI p. 270.
3. E. I. Vol. XI p. 45 Chāhamāna record dated 12th C. A. D.
4. J. A. S. B. Vol. XIX p. 67 Yr. 1909 : श्री वटेश्वर स्वामि शर्म्मणे पट्टमहादेवी चित्रमति कथा वेदव्यास प्रोक्त प्रपाठित महाभारत।
5. I. A. Vol. XV p. 7; Vol. XVIII p. 13.
6. Ibid. Vol. XIX p. 218.
7. Bāṇa in Harṣa charita (IV) speaks of an astrologer who predicted on Harsha's birth. He was probably a Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇa : Elliot-History Vol. I p. 169.

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efficient in his work of astrologer.[1] The discussion carries to a conclusion that astrologers were most probably Brāhmaṇas and lived under the patronage of the kings whether in capital or in some village.

Inspite of the noble ideal set before Brāhmaṇas, it appears that owing to the growth of Brāhmaṇas population paucity of gifts and invitation to officiate as priests, the strict rules of six fold actions have to be relaxed. In the documents of the period under review, the references are not wanting when Brāhmaṇas followed the occupations of Kśatriya and Vaishyas which were sanctioned by Smṛti writers.[2] Brāhmaṇas appeared to have followed the profession of arms[3] in case of distress, when his life was in danger or when the rules for holding society together were broken. The same tradition continued in this age from 700–1200 A. D. and Brāhmaṇas took the profession of arms. The epigraphic evidences[4] supported by Śmṛti writer Vaśiṣṭha[5] go to prove the above statement. Śukra has laid emphasis that Brāhmaṇa should occupy the post of general of army in the place of Kshatriya[6] and no other castes. Such references to Brāhmaṇas commander-in-chief[7]

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1. E. I. Vol. VI p. 206.
2. Manu X, 81–82 : अजीवंस्तु यथोक्तेन ब्राह्मणः स्वेन कर्मणा ।
   जीवेत् क्षत्रिय धर्मेण सह्यस्य प्रत्यनन्तरः ॥
   उभाभ्यामप्य जीवंस्तु कथं स्यादिति चेद्भवेत् ।
   कृषिगोरक्षमान्याय जीवेद्वैश्यस्य जीविकाम् ॥
3. Gautama (VII, 6); Śānti Parva (78, 18); Salva Parva (65, 42) and Manu (VIII, 348 also Medhātithi) allow Brāhmaṇas to follow Kshatriya profession but Kautilya (IX 2) and Āpasthamba (1. 10, 29, 7) are against the idea of Brāhmaṇa following the profession (II, 7, 17, 21) of arms.
4. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 272–7; Vol. XX p. 131; Vol. I p. 222 and Vol. V p. 20.
5. आत्मत्राणे वर्णसंकरे वा ब्राह्मणवैश्यौ शस्त्रमाददीयाताम् (वशिष्ठ 3, 26).
6. सेनापिः क्षत्रियस्तु ब्राह्मणस्तदभावतः ।
   न वैश्यो न च वै शूद्र कातरश्च कदाचन ॥ (Sukramiti 2, 421).
7. E.I. Vol. I p.222 Mahowa record describes the defeat of an enemy by Brāhmaṇa Senāpati (Commander) at the order of the king.

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(Senāpati) are found in the grants of Chandela kings who donated lands to them probably for their chivalrous activities[1]. There are other references of Brāhmaṇas following the profession of arms and receiving grants (*Vṛtti*) from the kings, when they died in the battle against muslims.[2] In one of the records of Dharmapāla a Brāhmaṇa named Himānga has been described skilled not only in archery and method of attack and defence but expert in reading the omens implied in the movement and fall of other people's arrow.[3] Thus it appears that Brāhmaṇas did take the profession of Kshatriya and wielded arms in this period.

Besides the active work of Brāhmaṇas in military section, some of them acted as rulers of the state or minister of the kings. The reports of foreign travellers testify to the fact and mention the king[4] of Ujjain as Brāhmaṇas and Caca as the Brāhmaṇa king of Sindh,[5] who killed the Arab general Abdul Aziz in 711 A. D. Another Brāhmaṇa king of Sindh[6] was Dāhira who was invaded by Muhammad-ibn-Kasim. Alberuni has also mentioned the king of Kabul as Brāhmaṇa and called tne family as Brāhmaṇa Śāhi.[7] This dynasty ruled after Kallar whose pedigree has been carried down to Bhimpāla. The Śāhi coins were current in the Kabul valley, the Punjab and northern India.[8] The last king was Bhima who was succeeded in that area by Rājapūta Jaipāla.[9] It is difficult to arrange dates of these two lines of kings Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya, but the former issued one type of silver coin viz.

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1. I. A. Vol. XXV p. 205–8 (ब्राह्मण सेनापति मदनपाल शर्मन) E. I. Vol. IV p. 158 (त्रैकायन गोत्र सेनापति अजयपाल पुत्र राउत सोमराज)
2. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 272; Vol. XX p. 133.
3. E. I. Vol. V p. 20 : (नाराच-मोक्ष-गति-पात-गुण-प्रवीणः)
4. Beal—Vol. II p. 271.
5. Elliot—History Vol. I p. 131 and 182.
6. C. H. I. Vol. III p. 2 : Elliot History Vol. I p. 190–95.
7. Bigg's Firista Vol. I p. 15.
8. C. M. I. p. 55.
9. Ibid p. 56.

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"Bull and Horseman" type[1] which was copied down by later kings in northern India.

In early mediaeval inscriptions the word *Mahāmantri* occures about hundred times but it is difficult to say the caste of the *mantrī* who occupied the chair of the chief minister.[2] In Pāla records we have several references of Brāhmaṇa ministers such as Guṛavamiśra, a famous minister of Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla.[3] Minister Garga has been called Brāhmaṇa whose ancestors migrated from Kanauj[4] to Bengal. Darbhapāṇi was son of Garga, the minister of Devapāla[5] and latter's grandson was Kedāramiśra whose sacrificial ceremony was attended to by the king Surapāla. Under chandel kings also Brāhmaṇas held responsible posts in the state.[6]

Brāhmaṇas in distress also followed the occupation of Vaiśya but there were several restrictions imposed upon them following the occupation of money-lending, trade, rearing of cattle which were prescrited as privileged occupations of the Vaiśyas. The obvious reasons and motives underlying these restrictions on Brāhmaṇas were to make them live simple lives, to preserve culture and to value the spiritnal life which should not be given up for a mere secular one i. e. material life. Though law-givers are not unanimous on this point but the agriculture by Brāhmaṇas has been taken as *Āpatadharma* and it may be followed in limited manner[7] because the work of

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1. C. M. I. p:. VII no. 5–10.
2. Kriyakalpataru G. O. S. no. C. Introd. p. 10. Bhatta Lakshmidhara the priest of Gāhadavāla king Govindachandra worked as chief minister and was successful statsman & administrator.
3. Badal Pillar Inscription E. I. Vol. II pp. 160–7.
4. E. I. Vol. II p. 160–7.
5. Gauḍa Lekhamala p. 72.
6. E. I. Vol. I p. 200–10; Ibid. p. 207–14; A. S. R. XXI p. 82.
7. Manu 10, 82–85
   Paraśara 2, 1. षट् कर्माभिरतो विप्रः कृषिकर्म च कारयेत्
   Vṛddha Hārita VIII, 179.
   कृषि तु सर्व वर्णानां सामान्यो धर्म उच्यते

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agriculture involbes the loss of study of the veda.[1] The study of dynastic records points out that some Brāhmaṇas undertook the work of agriculture and actually plough their fields. In the land grants it is stated that the succersors of the donor should not obstruct the donee (the names of the Brāhmaṇas donees are mentioned in detail with gotra and Vedic Śākhās) whether they may plough, caused to be ploughed, mortgage or sell[2] the land. Thus it is clear that the word *Karṣata* has been used in the sense of ploughing the field by the Brāhmaṇa donee. Some time a certain portion of the land (not the whole village) was donated and in that case the word 'Hala,[3] (a measure of land ploughed by one plaugh) seems to be significant. The Brāhmaṇas were granted five[4] or two[5] Halas of land by the donors, most probably for their personal use. The pronouncement of the king 'May plough' would suggest that Brāhmaṇas tilled the land in the want of other works. They adopted agriculture profession if not actual farming. Another record from Rājaputānā though later than the period under review mentions that Brāhmaṇas followed the work of husbandry, but the king requested him to give up farming and devote the time in the study of Veda.[6]

(viii) The epithets of Rāuta and Thākura.

The most striking epithet for Brāhmaṇas were Rāuta and Thākura which are mentioned in the records of this age (700–

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1. Baudhayana Dh. S. I, 5, 10, 30.
   (वेदः कृषि विनाशाय, कृषिवेद विनाशिनी)
2. E. I. Vol. XX p. 131; I. A. Vol. XVI p. 208.
   भुज्जमामनस्य कर्षतातः कर्षयतो दानधान विक्रयम्वा कुर्वतो न केनाचित्काचिद्बाधा कर्त्तव्या ।
   C. I. I. Vol. III p. 179 यतोभ्योवित्या ब्रह्मदाय भूजतः कर्षतः कर्षापयत प्रदिसतो ।
3. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 19.
4. E. I. Vol. XX p. 130 पंच हलानि वहिष्कृत्य ।
5. Hathala plate I. A. Vol. XLIII p. 193 हल द्वय भूमि ।
6. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 278–82 V. 17.
   यो विप्रानमितान हलि कलयतः कर्श्येन वृतेरलं वेद सांगमपाठयत् कलिगलग्रस्तेधरत्रीतले ।

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1200 A.D.). The examination of the documents shows that these two titles were not exclusively abopted by Brāhmaṇas but Kshatriyas of the same area also had the same epithets-Rāuta and Thākura. The early mediaeval epigraphs[1] hailing from Madhyadesh and central India mention the names of Brāhmaṇa donees with the title of Rāuta who were granted villages in the reign of different kings. Good many records belong to Chandela dynasty mentioning this title[2] associated with the names of Brāhmaṇas. The same word (Rāuta) has also been associated with the name of Kshatriya who probably received gifts on account of their chivalrous actions. In the grant of Jayachandra the name of Rāuta Rajyadhara Varmana[3] has been stated as the recipient of the gifts. In another records[4] of Chandela family Rāuta has been associated with name of a person Kshatriya by caste. Thus it is clear that Madhyadeśa or in central India the title of Rāuta was assumed by the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya alike. One memorial pillar inscription also contains the name of Rāuta Saha janadeva[5] who died in a battle, but on the mere name, the caste of the warrior can not be ascertained. This much is clear that even in Rājaputānā this title was used by Kshatriya (?) The interpretation of this word Rāuta is the real issue and considering the implication of this term, it may be suggested that it was neither the surname nor any designation of Brāhmaṇas or Kshatriyas.[6] Probably it was a corrupt form of *Rājyachyuta* i.e.

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1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 155 (Semra plate of Chandel king Paramardl); Vol. XVI. p. 264; I. A. Vol. XV p. 7; E. I. Vol. XX p. 133.
2. Charkhari Plate E. I. Vol. XX p. 133 राउत पौत्रस्य···राउत पुत्रस्य E. I. Vol. XVI. p. 171. राउत सहणाहाल grands on of राउत राणपाल।
3. I. A. Vol. XVIII p, 138–9 राउत श्री राज्यधर वर्मणे क्षत्रियाय।
4. E. I. Vol. XX p. 133; A. S. R. Vol. XXI p. 49 राउत श्रीवेद क्षत्रिय जातिय।
5. A. R. of Arch. Dept. Gwalior state 1925–26 p. 13–14.
6. This word has been mostly used as prefix with proper names (E. I. Vol. IV p. 112; Vol. XVI p. 272–7; Vol. XX p. 133; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 136).

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one who has fallen down from the royal position. The references in the dynastic records may suggest that those Brāhmaṇas or Kshatriyas were related to royal families in earlier period but they were not the heirs of the throne due to some reasons and remained subordinate to the rulers like Jāgīradārs, If this interpretation is tenable, the word Rāuta of early mediaeval period may be taken as Jāgīradārs of the modern age. Further it may be clarified that due to the high position once held in the society Brāhmaṇas or Kshatriyas distinquished themselves from other Brāhmaṇas or Kshatriyas by prefixidg this title of Rāuta though they have become poor and fallen in the position of a donee.[1]

Some scholar opinis that Rāuta is prakrit of hybid form of Rajaputra and it was the title given to Brāhmanas in semra plate (E. I. Val IV p. 154) If Rāuta may be Rajapūtra as Devul for Devakula there is no reason why the title was given to Brāhmaṇas in the dynastic records.

The second remarkable title for the Brāhmaṇa was that of Thākura mentioned in several records of Gāhaḍawāla[2], Chandela[3] and Chedi[4] dynasties. The grants were given to Dayi Śarmana grandson of Thākur Kaku[5] of Bhārdwāja Gotra to Thākura Nārayana[6] to Thākura Devapāla Śarmana and to a Brāhmaṇa named Thākura[7] Mahāditya and Thākura Trilochana[8] during the reign of Gāhaḍawāla kings. Gagaha plate of the same family(district Gorakhapur U. P.) gives a long list

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1. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 274; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 138-41.
2. E. I. Vol. IV p. 131; Vol. VII p. 100; Vol. XIII p. 219; Vol. VIII p. 152; Vol. XIX p. 294.
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 155; I. A. XXV p. 204-8.
4. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 95; I. A. Vol. XVII p. 226.
5. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 152.
6. Ibid Vol. IV p. 131 (Kamauli grant).
7. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 20.
8. I. A. Vol. XVII p. 226-8.

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of Brāhmaṇa donees having the title of Thākura.[1] The similar case is found in the grant of Paramardi[2] where Brāhmaṇa donee Madanpāla Śarmana is described as son of Thākura Maheśwara and grandson of Thākura Bavapāla. Thus it is clear that Brāhmaṇas in Madhyadeśa and central India adopted the title of Thākura. The analysis of the above document makes it clear that in the presence of Śarmans as name suffix of Brāhmaṇas, the epithet Thākura cannot be taken as surname of Brāhmaṇa donees. Most probably this title was given to those Brāhmaṇas who were engaged in worship of some deity.

On the authority of a few dynastic epigraphs it may be added that some Brāhmaṇa donee has the title of Rāuta but his ancestors (father and grandfather) were known as Thākura.[3] A record of Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra deva mentions Rāuta Jateśarmana while his grandfather was Thākura Uhila.[4] This shows that in early period the grandfather of the Brāhmaṇa donee functioned as priest, whose grandson rose to the position similar to Jāgīradāra due to the property gifted to that Brāhmaṇa family. But it is difficult to draw definite conclusion on such meagre evidence.

It may further be suggested that Rāuta was a military officer who could be either Brāhmaṇa or Kshatiya by caste. From the record of Chandela king Trailokyavarman it is learnt that land was granted to Rāuta Samanta as Mrityuk Vritti whose father Rāuta pape was killed in the struggle with muslims.[5] Similar gift was granted to another Rāuta for performing heroic deeds.[6]

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1. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 219 The similar geneology of Thākura has been described in Lāra plate (E. I. Vol. VII p. 100).
ठाकुर श्री महीधर पुत्राय; ठाकुर श्री जसराम; ठाकुर श्री देवराय; ठाकुर श्री भूपति; ठाकुर श्रीधर.....एषु ब्राह्मणेषु ।
2. I. A. Vol. XXV p. 205–8.
3. Rewa Record (12th Cent. A. D.) I. A. Vol. XVII p. 282–4.
4. E. I. Vol. IV p. 112.
5. E. I. Vol XVI p. 275–6.
6. Ibid Vol XX p. 132–3.
(Rnuta was concerned with military affairs)

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(ix) Name-suffix of Brāhmaṇas.

Generally the Brāhmaṇas were associated with different surnames in the epigraphs of this period. The epithet Śarmana was widely adoped throughout the northern India and regarded as distinctive name-suffix. Gāhaḍavāla[1] grants, Paramāra epigraphs[2] and Chandela records[3] mention the name of Brāhmaṇa donees whith suffix Śarmana which go to show the use of this surname in Madhyadeśa and Central India regions. Similarly this surname was very popular with Brāhmaṇa donees of Bengal dynasties. Some of the Pāla records do contain such name ending but this is inveriably found in Sena epigraphs. Khoduladeva Śarmana,[3] Ratna Śarmana,[5] Vateswara Śarmana,[6] Ghantuka Śarmana[7] and Arkadeva Śarmana[8] are some of the name (with Śarmana epithets) in Pāla documents. The same was the case during Sena period and from the time of Vijayasena to Keshava Sena, the royal grants contain the names of several Brāhmaṇa donees along with those of their ancestors ending with Sarmana.[9] It is needless to enumerate

1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 97 and 112.
2. J. A. S. B Vol VII p. 736, I. A. Vol XVI p. 251–2.
3. E. I. Vol. XX p. 137 नाना पुत्रेभ्यो नानाशर्म्मभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः
   E. I. Vol. X p. 45; Vol. XII p. 137; Vol. XVI p. 9–15.
   I. A. Vol. XXV p. 205 (Brāhmaṇa Madanapāla Śarmana).
   E. I. Vol. IV p. 171–4 (Semra plate of Paramardi).
4. I. A. Vol. XIV p. 168.
5. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 10.
6. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX p. 67.
7. E. I. Vol. XXIX p. 8 and 12.
8. E. I. Vol. XV p. 295.
9. Barrackpur grans (E. I. Vol. XV p. 278); Naihati (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 150) Tarpandihi (Ibid Vol. XII p. 6–10) Govindpur (I. B. p. 92–8); Bhowal plate (I. H. Q. III p. 89) Anulia (J. A. S. B. 1900 Vol. LXIX p. 61–5); India office plate (E. I. XXVI, p. 5) Madhainagar (J. A. S. B. 1909 Vol. V N. S. p. 467); Sundarbana (I. B. p. 168); Bangiya Sahitya Parisad (I H. Q. Vol. II p. 76); Ediiapur Copp. plate (J. A. S. B. 1914 Vol. X (N. S.) p. 97.

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all those names but those records testify to the popular name-suffix (śarmana) adopted by Brāhmaṇas during Sena regime. It appears that most of the Brāhmaṇas were following system mentioned in Viṣṇu Purāṇa regarding the surnames i. e. Brāhmaṇas should have Śarmana as name ending.[1] In second category the epithets of Dvivedī, Trivedī and Chaturvedī may be considered as common surnames. Probably these titles were given to those Brāhmaṇas who had completed the study of two, three or four Vedas respectively. The analysis of the early mediaeval grants reveals that it was the period of specilisation and Brāhmaṇas devoted their times in learning of certain Vedic Śākhā and not the whole Veda. In the case a certain Brāhmaṇa completed the study of whole Veda, he was given the epithet of Dvivedī, Trivedī or Chaturavedī accordiug to his attainments. In the reign of Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra grants[2] were given to Brāhmaṇa donees with surnames Dvivedī and Trivedi.[3] The Brāhmaṇa studying four Vedas became famous as Chaturavedī.[4] Besides these the plate[5] of Paramāra king and Kalh plate of Soḍhadeva[6] good many miscalleneous epithets have been mentioned for Brāhmaṇa donees and definite reasons for adopting such surnames are difficult to put forth. Upādhyāya of that list was probably teacher in ancient India and in the long run Brāhamaṇa teachers assumed that epithet. Agnihotri may be derived from *Agnihotra* and Brāhmaṇas accustomed to it (daily *Agnihotra*) were called by that surname. For Pandey, Dikshit,[7] Pāṭhaka[8] and

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1. Visnu Purāṇa & Vyās—शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं।
2. E. I. Vol. p. 128; Vol. XVI p. 10.
3. Ratalama plate A. S. I. A. R. 1902–3 p. 233 (Grant to Trivedina of Daśapura).
4. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 54; Vol. XI p. 107–8; A. S. I. A. R. 1902–3 p. 237; E. I. Vol. XIX p. 54.
5. E. I. Vol. IX p. 115.
6. E. I. Vol. VII p. 92 (Dikshita, Agnihotrin, Dvivedin and Bhatta.)
7. E. I. VII p. 92; Vol. XIX p. 45; Vol. XXVI p. 73.
8. E. I. Vol. VII p. 92; Vol. XIV p. 325–30.

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Śukla no plausible reasons may be advanced but these surnames had been adopted by Brāhmaṇas in the period under review. The above Paramāra record also has supplied the title of Swāmina for Brāhmaṇas. This epithet was taken by hundred Brāhmaṇas in Assam as referred to in Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskara Varmana.[1] This word points out the position of Brāhmaṇa who probably took the headship of Maṭha in northern India. The Khoha plate of Sarvanāth and other epigraphs[2] of Central India support the above statment. Faridāpur copper plate inscription of Gopachandra had the same name-ending[3] (Swāmina). Similar instances may be multiplied where Brāhmaṇa donees with surname Swāmina were granted lands.[4] The present class of Swāmi Brāhmaṇa may be taken as representative of old Swāmina. They worshiped Śiva or Bhairava and were associated with Gorakhanāth. They claim as followers of Nāth sect.[5] Lastly we have the surname Miśra used in time of Pāla kings of Bengal[6] and we know that Kedāramisra and Gurava Miśra acted as (Brāhmaṇa) ministers of Pāla rulers. In modern days it is also common throughout northern India and all the surnames enumerated above are current today in the present society as the representatives of older ones.

Section B

Kshatriya

In old Varṇāśrama system Kshatriya had occupied the second place in the order of merit but in the period from 700-1200 A. D. they were next to none and gained prominence in the Hindu society. In the period of struggle for supremacy

1. E. I. Vol. X X p. 122-25.
2. C. I. I. Vol. III p. 114 & 126.
3. I. A. Vol. XXXIX 1910 pp. 200 & 204.
4. Record of Jasovarmadeva (I. A. Vol. XIX p. 351) and Copper plate grant dated 1211 A. D. state that Vāmana Swāmina and Vārāha Swāmina were main recipients (I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 13)
5. Brigg's Gotakhanāth and Kanphaṭā yogi p. 138.
6. E. I. Vol. II p. 160-7; E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 304; I. A. Vol. XXI p. 254.

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among Hindu states and during islamic invasion they always remained in forefront. During Arabs occupation of Sindh and muslim advancement in north India there was a question of national defence which was assigned to Kshatriya by the Brāhmanical society. Though Buddhism affected the martial spirit of the people to some extent but the Kshatriyas still maintained the martial ardour and disintegration compelled them to rally round their own hereditary chieftain. From C. 8th century A. D. onwards we find a new era in north Indian history when fresh ruling (Rājapūta) dynasties arose on the breakdown of Gurjara Pratīhara empire, who brought well defined feudalism with them. The downfall of the Pratīhāras gave the chiefs or Sāmantas an opportunity to rise and to declare independence, consequently we find many small principalities coming into existence throughout north India. The feudalistic policy of constant fight made them incapable of fusing together and form a strong nation. However, the territories were confined and every king tried to keep his own state intact. Due to the mohammedan invasions those states fell one after another and with their gradual fall the Hindus of Northern part of India lost their prestige and indepeadence.

The word Rājapūta is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of this age to denote ruling Kshatriya clan. In one of Kalachuri record one Kshatriya has been described with the beautiful title of "King of twice born"[1] and in another epigraph ruling chief has been designated as jewel[2] among Dvija. These point out the high position of honour for Kshatriya in society and they have no less respect than the Brāhmaṇas. On the basis of Smṛtis and corraborated by Alberuni it is learnt that the Brāhmaṇas were exempted from capital punishment[3] but this privilege was also extended to Kshatriya in this period as reported

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 41 विभ्रगो द्विजराज सुंदर पदं मौलौ स गगाधरः
(the word Dvijarāja has a spun Brāhmaṇa and Moon).
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 234. उपेन्द्र राजो द्विजवगेरत्न सौर्याज्जितातुग नृपत्वमान ।
3. Gantama 12, 43
अवध्यो वैब्राह्मणः सर्वापराधेषु
Mithakshara on yaj. II, 4.

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by Alberuni.[1] This immunity from the punishment gives the actual picture of society when Kshatriya enjoyed the highest status in the land. It would then follow that in actual practice the privilege of Kshatriya was by no mean less than those of Brāhmaṇas. The name Rājapūta became very popular in early mediaeval period (700–1200 A.D.) and it replaced the earlier word Kshatriya.[2] In Barrackapur grant of Vijay sena, the Senas were called Rājaputra[3] and R.D. Banerjee was of opinion that Sena rightly claimed to be Rājapūta.[4] Inspite of the fact that the word Rājanya had been used by Pāṇini[5] for Kshatriya class and also mentioned in Santi Parva (Chapter 64) as synonym for Kshatriya, but the new word Rājapūta or Rājaputra has been exclusively used for that caste in the early mediaeval inscriptions. some of the Pāla and Sena records clearly states that the kings were head ornament of Kshatriya[6] or diadem of Kshatriya clan but in another place they are described as born in Rājaputra family.[7] A Chāhamāna epigraph[8] dated V. S. 1239 speaks of a Rājapūtra Jojala as Rāja Chintaka i. e. looking after administration of the state.

The word Rājapūta is the corrupt form of Sanskṛit word Rājaputra meaning the son of king, naturally it carried the sense of Khatriya varṇa. The official records of the period under review often mention it as an designation of prince refrred to along with other officers of the state in the grants.

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1. Sachau–Vol. II p. 162.
2. In a 12th century Chāhamāna record Ajayadeva has been descrided as son of Rājaputa Kumara Singh (E. I. Vol. XIII p. 207).
3. E. I. Vol. XV p. 282 V. 3.
   (कुर्वन्तश्चन्द्र लीलामवनितल भुजो राजपुत्र बभूव)
4. E. I. Vol. XV p. 279.
5. Asthādhyayi 4. 2. 41.
6. E. I. Vol. XV p. 278–86.
7. I. A. Vol. XV p. 308 : E. I. Vol. XIV p. 159 V. 3.
8. E. I. Vol. XI p. 53. (Reference to राजचिन्तक)

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In Paramāra[1] and Gāhaḍavāla[2] records the word *Yuvarāja* is mentioned after king and queen while East Indian epigraphs contain the word Rājaputra for the crown prince. The Pāla[3] and Sena[4] documents confirm the above and the same word is referred to in the grants of Orissa[5] and Assam kings.[6] In Kalachuri epigraphs[7] the word Rājāputra or Mahārājaputra has been used in the same meaning. If all the documents of North Indian dynasties are analysed in the light of this word (Rājaputra) it appears that Prince or Crown-prince have been referred to as scion of Kshatriya family.

Some scholars donot agree about the identity of Rājapūta and Kshatriya Varṇa, and made distinction in between them. There are two schools of thoughts expressing different view-points regarding the origin of Rājapūtas. One school holds that they were descendant of ancient Kshatriya clan but the other differs from it and places Rājapūtas among foreign tribes who invaded India in the post–Gupta period. It is beyond our purview to enter into the discussion of mythological or historical origin of Rājapūta but the study of the royal records of Rājapūta kings reveals that Rājpūtas were descendant of ancient Kshatriya Varṇa, because Pratihāra, Paramāra, Chālukya, Chandela and Gāhaḍavāla kings claimed their origin from Solar or lunar race i. e. they belong to origi-

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1. E. I. Vol. III p. 47 (राजा राज्ञी, युवराज मंत्री etc.)
2. Kamauli grant and Lāra plate of Govindachandra (राजा राज्ञी युवराज) E. I. Vol. IV and Vol. VII p. 99).
3. राजा राजानक राजपुत्र (Khalimpur and Āmgāchchhi plates E. I. Vol, IV p. 34; Vol. XV p. 2).
4. Tarpandighi grant of Lakshmaṇa Sena—राजा राजन्यक राज्ञी राणकर राजपुत्र (E. I. Vol. XII p. 8).
5. महासामन्त महाराज राजपुत्र (E. I. Vo. XV p. 2).
6. J. A. S. B. 1897 no. 2 p. 131.
7. E. I. Vol. XI p. 141; Vol. XXI p. 92.
महादेवी महाराजपुत्र महामंत्रिन or देवी राजपुत्र महामात्य राजगुरु etc.
Kalha grant dated 1077 A. D. of Sodhadeva traces the king's descent from one Rājaputra (E. I. Vol. VII p. 85).

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nal Kshatriya clan. The later inscriptions contain Gotra and Pravara of the donors which were absent in old records of Gupta or Vardhan families.

At some places the *Gotra* and *Pravara* of the Khatriyas and Brāhmaṇas were one and the same. This shows that Kshatriyas adopted the Brāhmanical *Gotra* and *Pravara* as their own. The dictum 'पुरोहित प्रवरो राज्ञाम्' has been explained satisfactory by the case of those Kshatriyas who were converted to the Buddhist faith. The dictum started after the decline of Buddhism and on the reconversion of converted Buddhists to the revived Brāhmanical religion.[1] They (Rājpūtas) in the new environment remained aloof from other class of Kshatriya who claimed to inherit blood relationship with original (ancient) Kahatiryas. Those converts might have tried to mix up with pure and real Kshatriya families but having failed they had to form a separate group in the Hindu society. In order to show their blood relation with ancient Ṛshis they adopted the *Gotra* and *Pravara* of Brāhmaṇa Purohitas and desire to have the same prestige and honour like their Kshatriya brothern. In one of the record of Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra Rajyadhara Varmana has been mentioned as Kshatriya donee with *Vatsa Gotra* and *Pañch Pravara* viz. Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavana, Aurava and Jāmadagnya. A Brāhmaṇa donee with the same *Gotra* and *Pañch Pravara* has been recorded[2] pointing out that the Kshatriya had *Ārsha Gotra* like Brāhmaṇas.

If the entire evidences and references of Rājapūtas are examined it becomes clear that they were divided into two classes viz (A) Nobility i. e. the ruling families (who were not many) and (B) common mercenary Rājaputas. The ruling class constituted into one group, enjoyed the high status in the society and even were hold in esteem by the Brāhmaṇas. It will be interesting to note that Arab traveller Ibn Khur-

1. Proceedings of 6th Oriental Conferencc p. 343.
2. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 134-6.
3. Ibid p. 131.

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dādba,[1] who died in 912 A. D. has mentioned seven castes and the first place is given to Sābkufria (or Samkufria according to some manuscript). The second place occupied by Brāhmaṇa and third by Katariya. It is quite clear from the details given by these writers[2] that Katariyas are obviously the same common Kshatriya but Sābkufrīa may be equated with Sanskrit *Sat Kshatriya.* According to Dr. A. S. Altekar the distinction between Katariyas and Sābkufrīas seems similar to the distinction between the Kshatriya and Rājanya of earlier period; the forwer constituted the general military order while latter were the members of aristocracy descended from royal stock.[3] The Katariyas corresponds to common mercenary Rājapūtas who did not enjoy higher status than Brāhmaṇas. It may be noted in this connection that all fighters were not Kshatriyas and all Katariyas did not belong to fighting class.

(2) Foreign Element among Rajaputa.

With regards to the question of foreign element among Rājapūtas, one has to give some finding on the authority of epigraphs of early mediaval period. The study of records reveals that Hūṇas were absorbed in the Hindu society even after the defeat and expulsion of Mihirakula in 6th century A. D. During the period of 9th and 10th centuries A. D. the word Hūṇa is often mentioned among the mercenary soldiers of Pāla king Nārāyaṇa Pāla and Hūṇa troop was an active section of Pāla army in Bengal.[4] At another place they are described as defeated group by the Rājapūta king.[5] In Karnabela inscription of Jayasingh Hūṇa prince is said to have

1. Elliot—Hist. of India Vol. I p. 16-7.
2. Al-Idrisi has described the same seven castes practically identical with seven ones mentioned by Ibn Khurdadba (Elliot—Vol. I p. 76).
3. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times p. 319.
4. I. A. Vol. XV p. 308; E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 291.
गौड़ मालव खस कुलिक हूण भट चाट सेवकादिन ।
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 225.

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waited upon the king along with Gauḍa Yuvarāja.[1] Besides military activities Hūna shared the social work of the area where they lived. The record of Allāta of Mewār dated 953 A. D. (V. S. 1010) reveals that Hūṇa acted as member of the council of temple administration[2] (Goṣṭhika). The name of Hūṇa among Goṣṭhika signifies that Hūna (a foreign element in society) was given equal status with men of orthodox society. The association with higher class people must have raised their status. On the authority of Ajmer slab inscription containing the portion of Harakeli drama it is known that the scribe of this record was Bhāskara (son of Mahipāla and grandson of Govinda) who was born in royal family of Hūna and was favourite of King Bhoja. The Hūnas were so much mixed up with Rājapūtas that one Āvalladevī of Hūna family was married to Kalchuri king Karṇa.[3]

It seems that they wandered all over India offering their sword as mercenaries to different potentates. These records naturally presupposes that Hūnas who settled down in India have become completely Indianized. Their inter-marriages with the Kshatriya kings attest to the fact that they used to have chieftains of equal rank with the Ksyatriya king. It is just possible and would not be wonderful to say that they were purified by the Brāhmaṇas and taken in the Hindufold as members of the Kshatriya Varṇa. However, the inscriptions leave no doubt that Hūnas were assimilated and have settled down peacefully in the Hindu society. It is diffioult to trace their identity, but Rājapūtas had their own character and were expert in national defence. They have identified themselves with the state and its protection.

In the battle field king took proper care of the soldiers and they were provided with dress and boots; while the common

1. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 215.
2. I. A. Vol. 58. p. 161.
   हूणश्च कृपु राजोन्यः सर्व देवोपि गोष्ठिक :
3. E. I. Vol. II p. 4 V. 15.
   अजनि कुलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन
   हूणान्वय जलनिधि लक्ष्म्यां श्री मदावल्लदेव्याम् ।

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people moved without the latter. The fighting class was supplied with bow and arrow or sword and shield for offensive and defensive purposes.[1]

(3) Professions.

We know that Kshatriyas were divided into two classes according to their place in the society. The higher class belonged to ruling section and the king had to look after the better condition of the subjects particularly the ruler had to maintain a regular army to protect the state. He used to go himself to the military camp[2]–Jayaskandhāwāra and some time gifted lands to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of victory. The kings were given the big honourific title *Parama Bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameshwar* but this does not suit them as they ruled in very limited area. Even the ancient monarch like Asoka, Kaniṣka, Chandra Gupta II or Harsha Vardhana did not asume such a big royal designation. This can be explained in the way that these kings were fond of high sounding titles and false prestige. An insignificant ruler like Jivita Gupta has been given the same big title in Deo Barnāk inscription.[3] This much should be stated that the land grants of early midiaeval period contain a list of officials[4] of the state in different capacities who helped the king in administation. It is probable that administration of the state had become complicated and for the purpose of smooth running those officers were appointed by the king in the state. In a developed state several officers are necessary for the welfare of the people, hence the list of officers are not the same in all the state of our period under review.[5] The crown prince appears to have been at the head

1. A. S. memoir no. 55 plate LVII : E. I. Vol. XIV P. 298. (V. 9 & 19)
2. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 17.
3. C. I. I. Vol. III no. 46.
4. The highest is found in Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla (E. I. Vol. IV).
5. This is clear from the records of Madhyadesh, Central India and Rājaputānā that the list of the officers are less in number than the list known from grants of Bengal kings. (E. I. Vol. IV, XVIII VII, XI, XII, XVII etc.).

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of the list, who was highly educated in the art of government and helped the king in general administration.[1] In rare cases king went into hermitage handing over the state to his heir.[2]

Generally the rulers were good and expert fighters and learned as well.[3] The defeat of Hindu rulers at the hand of muslim invadors was not due to the lack of valour and strength but the ignorance of the military science was the real cause of the defeat. The Indian capacity for fighting was there but it had simply not been called to play. In the beginning of 8th century A. D. Gurjara-pratihāra supremrcy was the fear of muslims and Rājapūta kings had to face the muslim attacks. where they fouhgt bravely. The kings were not reluctant towards luxury and to them the polygamy was a common thing. The near relations or kinsmen acted as feudatories (*Mahasāmantā*) to the klng and assisted him at the time of emergency.

The other class was that of common Rājaputas who lived the ordinary lives but most of them maintained the mertial spirit. Those Rājaputas joined the military service and were called *Bhritya* (mercenaries) and *Maula* (hereditary) warriors. Arab writers called the warrior class as Thākur[4] (the word is not wanting in the records of our period) and such Rājapūta soldiers were paid daily allowance by the queen of the Kashmīr[5] Agriculture was also common profession followed by Rājapūtas[6] and some took to trade.[7]

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1. E. I. XVIII p. 98: Ibid Vol. XV p. 304.
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 308; I. A. Vol. XV p. 204.
3. Ibid p. 234 and 237
   Alberuni says that the Brāhmaṇas taught Veda to the king (Sachau—Vol. I, p. 125.)
4. Elliot History Vol. II Introd. p. 38.
5. Raj. taranga 7/458.
6. E. I. Vol I p. 159.
7. Ibid Vol XIX p. 56 (Indor copper plate of Guptā king Skandgupta describes Kshatriya Achalavarma as Vanika).

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(4) Rewards.

The Rājapūta soldiers were rewarded by the state for their good deeds as mentioned in the several records of this age. Even in earlier period the land grant was prescirbed by Kautilya to various officers as emolument but without power of sale or mortgage. He says that son and wife of the person died on duty should be subsisted (Arthaśāstra 2.1 : Kane—History of Dharma śāstra Vol III p. 152). Sukra also tells the same thing and land for good action was given to officer to be enjoyed in his life time (Sukra Niti 1, P 421). One instance may be cited of a warrior named Jāula who got the designation of a Rājā and gained prosperity by looking after the affairs of the sovereign.[1]

The study of the inscriptions shows that this title of Rājā was likewise inherited by his descendent Gagga who is called *Bhoonātha* in verse 14. This seems to be the poetical rendering of the more prosaic 'Rājā'. His descendents continued the military service of the state. It has been stated in the grant of Chandela king Trailokya Varmana that one Kshatriya got land as a maintenance gift (*Mṛityuk-vṛitti*) in lieu of his father's death in the battle with muslims.[2] Some similar gift for valour has been mentioned in other Chandela document[3] where it refers to a donee (Rauta Abhi) who fought in the struggle with Dabhyuhada Varmana near Sondhi. In the recognition of his valour the land was granted by the successful king Viravarmana.[4] The donee was probably a Kshatriya

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1. E. I. Vol. I. p. 245 V. 6.
   नाम्ना जाडल ... ...
   स्तत्वा लोकि विलोकित क्षितिपति व्यापार लब्धोदयः
2. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 275. तुरुष्क युद्धभृत···पाये पुत्राय सामन्त नाम्ने प्रसादेन मृत्युक वृत्तौ शासनं कृत्वा प्रदत्त इति ।
3. A. S. I. A. R. 1929–30 p. 167.
4. E. I. Vol. XX p. 133.
   पुण्यतोर्थोदकेन स्नात्वा भास्कर पूजा पुरः सर ···चन्द्रेश्वरान्वये काश्ययगोत्राय राडतदेवषभ् प्रपौत्राय राडत जगदेव पौत्राय राडत हरिपाल पुत्राय सोंधी संग्रामे दभ्युहड़वर्म युद्धे कृत वीर्यातिशये प्रसादे राडत अभिनाम्ने शासनी कृत्य प्रदत्तः ।

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because the Pravaras have not been mentioned as found with donative records in case of the Brāhmaṇas. The other gift for valour was granted to a Kshatriya Rājyadhara Varmana by Gāhaḍvāla king Jayachandra for doing some heroic deed.[1] The Gwalior inscription also testifies to the same kind of reward and high honour for a Kshatriya donee[2] (soldiers). According to Dr. Barnett the gift of land was for maintenance to the heir who had sacrificed his life in the battle. In Kannad it is called *Nettor-godage* meaning blood gift (Rāy-Dynastic. History of N. India Vol II p 723 note 2). Sometimes Kshatriya got royal tiara or medals (Rajapatta[3] or *Sripattya*.[4]) instead of land grant for some heroic actions as we have *Mahabir Chakra* etc. in military department of Government of India. In the reign of Chandela king Parmardi some title was given to a soldier named Mālādhara who was declared *Vīra Mukhya*[5] i. e. soldier of first rank. In conclusion it may be stated that Rājaputas got gift of land, medal or title for the heroic actions, while serving as military officer or mercenary soldiers. It was their duty to defend the country and look after safety and welfare of the state.

(5) Education of Prince.

The good government is only possible if the head is properly educated in various branches of learning. The dynastic epigraphs of this period supply some information regarding the high merits and educational qualities of the rulers, but these should not be taken in a literal manner. The records also work as a panegyric and writer had to extol the merits of his patron, so some kind of exaggeration was not improbable. Regarding the qualities of king of Mālwā, the inscription says that the king Vākapatirājadeva had cultivated

1. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 135.
2. A. R. of Arch. Dept. Gwalior state 1925–26 p. 13–4.
3. Kamauli grant (12th cent. A. D. E. I. Vol. IV p. 131)
राजपट्टि उपार्जिता श्रीमद् कमल पालेन बुद्धया ।
4. E. I. Vol. II p. 344.
5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 333.

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the art of eloquence and reasoning.[1] The other king Devagana had the wealth of learning, possessed excellent bent of mind for poetry. He was very impartial in justice and knew the science of metre, rhetoric and grammar.[2] The Pratihāra king has also been described as reputed fighter and having deep knowledge of grammar, prosedy, logic and astronomy.[3]

Such reference may be multiplied without any additional information about the dexterity in the warfare. The defeat of sultans at the hand of Hindu rulers was a positive proof of their valour and high standard in the battle.[4] Alberuni, who was well acquainted with conditions of India, informs that Kshatriyas were permitted to study the Veda[5] and in case of other Dvija class viz Vaiśya the tongue was cut off[6] if proved to have recited Veda. Thus this discussion may be concluded with the remark that Kshatriya had all privileges for higher education. Their attention was focussed to *Vedānga* and Vedic *Śākhās* were not the nuclei of education as in the case of Brāhmaṇas. Archery must have been the compulsory subject for the training of the princes.

(6) Jātas

Another militant class of people working in cooperation with Rājaputas was known as Jāṭa who guarded the mother

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 235 V. 13.

वक्तृत्वोच्च कवित्व तर्क कलन प्रज्ञात शास्त्रागमः ।
श्रीमद्वाक्पति राजदेव इति, यः सद्भिः सदा कीर्त्यते ॥

2. Ibid p. 51.

3. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96 :

व्याकरणं तर्को ज्योतिशास्त्रं कलान्वितं ।
सर्वभाषा कवित्वं च विज्ञातं सुविलक्षणम् ॥

4. It has been described in Kalachuri record that Turuska were defeated at the hand of monarch (J. A. S. B. Vol. 31 p. 1116) while Gāhaḍavāla king Govinda Chandra has been called the proteetor of Banaras from cruel Turuṣka (muslims) E. I. Vol. IX p. 324. Gurjara Pratīhāra supremacy was the fear of muslim sultans. (Elliot–History Vol. I p. 116).

5. Sachau Vol. II p. 136.

6. The same.

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land (India) whenever Islamic forces invaded India. Nothing can be said about their pedigree but they are referred to in the record of 12th century A. D. and still earlier in *Kamilut Tawarikha*[1] (217 H.) It shows that Muslim invadors fought against Jāṭas in 10th Cent. A. D. In the epigraph of Malaya Singh it has been stated that the enemy was defeated by force of Jāta arms.[2] This is confirmed by the account in *Kamilut Tawarikh* that 217 H. (834 A. D.) the Jāta acquired considerable power whom muslim attacked with bows and arrows. These Jāta had intelligence of the armament, sent their families away and prepared for the conflict. They launched 8000 boats (in the river near Multān) manned with arms to attack the mohammadans.[3] These Jātas inhabited the area of salt range and moved further to the north and east. They came to settle down in Matsya and Madhya Bharat areas.[4]

(7) Name-ending.

The study of the names of the different Kshatriya princes, kings and other ordinary class of Rājapūtas, shows that they had *Sinha* or *Varmana* (Varma) as suffix to the proper names.[5] This was common to all Rājaputas but *Deva* add *Pāla* were other two name-endings attached to the personal names. By reading the very record and name endings one can gather some idea about the name of rulers as distinguished from ordinary Kshatriya class. The word Rājapūta in early mediæval age was very significant as the same gave the name of Rājaputānā to that particular area where Rājapūtas settled. They claim purity of Kshatriya blood and do not mix up very much with Kshatriyas of other parts of India.

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1. Elliot—History Vol. II pp. 242, 244.
2. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 295.
3. Elliot—History Vol. II p. 247, 478.
4. Ibid Vol. I p. 508.
5. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 207 : I. A. XVIII p. 136.

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Section C.

Vais'ya.

The third caste in the Hindu social order was that of Vaiśyas who were included in Dvija,[1] and according to Smṛtis their main professions were agriculture, rearing of cattle and trade.[2] The Vaiśyas were frequently called Vaṇika in the epigraphs of our period[3] (700–1200 A. D.) because mostly they were engaged in trade. Agriculture and other avocations like rearing of cattle are rarely mentioned in the records of this age. The Vaiśyas were losing their position among Dvija much earlier than our period under review as Baudhāyana[4] assigns Vaiśya the status of Śūdras. In Gīta they were enumerated along with Śūdras[5] as persons who were backward or suffering from religious disabilities. This can be confirmed by the account of Alberuni who placed Vaiśyas and Śūdra on the same level and informs that in the case of reciting Veda by Śūdras and Vaiśyas their tounges were cut off.[6] This points out that Vaiśyas had lost their status in society and in actual practice Vaiśyas were reduced to the level of Śūdras though later Smṛtis do not give any such statement.

The records of early mediæval period contain numerous references to trade and purchase of commodities by the Vaiśyas community commonly known as Vaṇik. On account of their professions, we can classify Vaṇika into four sections—

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1. ब्राह्मण क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः (Vedavyās 1, 4).
2. वाणिज्यं कर्षणं चैव गवां च परिपालनम् (Altri. 5, 6).
   त्रीणि वैश्यस्य कृषि वाणिज्य पशुपाल्यं (Vaśiṣṭha 2, 23).
   वैश्यस्याधिकं कृषि वाणिज्य पाशुपाल्य कुसीदम् (Yaj. 1, 118)
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 174–9 : Vol. XXI p. 48 : I. A. Vol. XV p. 162 etc.
4. Baudhayan Dharma Sutra 1. 11. 4.
5. मां हि पार्थ व्यपाश्रित्य येपिस्युः पापयोनयः ।
   स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपियान्ति परांगतिम् ॥ (गीता ९, ३२)
6. Sachau. Vol. II p. 136.

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(A) local merchants.
(B) Caravan traders
(C) Over-sea businesmen and
(D) Industrialists.

The local merchants worked in the form of guild (business corporation) in the towns and many of such guilds (Śreṇi) have been referred to in the dynastic records of this age. In Pratihāra inscription the Vaṇka has been described as purchasers of articles from different place.[1] Parmāra record supplies similar information about Vaṇik who carried trade and sold commodities in the market.[2] The documents of 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era speak of guilds of oil men and gardeners.[3] Siyadoni record further adds the names of potters (कुम्भकार) betel sellers (ताम्बूलिक) and stone cutters (शिलाकूट) organisations.[4] A section of Vaiśyā was known as brazier[5] and goldsmith[6] who also engraved the royal orders on the metal.[7] If one care fully examines the different sculptures and icons of this period from 700–1200 A D. it appears that there was a great demand for ornaments in the society, Even the divine images are profusely ornamented. Thus the the goldsmith had good business in those days. One goldsmith is said to have purchased house in the market on 99 years lease[8], pointing out his prosperous days in life. The economic life of the age generally depend on the trade and Vaiśyas

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1. E. I. Vol. XX p. 54.
2. Ibid Vol. XXI p. 48. The records use the word Hatta for market and it was managed by the guild (A. S. I. A. R. 1936–37 p. 91).
3. E. I. Vol. I. p. 160 : Vol. XIX p. 57 तैलिक and मालिक श्रेणी समस्त तैलिक श्रेण्या प्रतिकोल्हू.....दातव्ये।
5 E. I. Vol I p. 165 (कॉस्यकार)
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 175 कुम्भकार, ताम्बूलिक and शिलाकूट।
5. E. I. Vol. I P. 165 (कास्यकार)
6. Ibid Vol. XIX p. 57 (स्वर्णकार)।
7. Ibid Vol. XVIII p. 97. उत्कीर्णाः च हैमकार विष्णुरवि सुनुना कृष्णावरेन।
8. E. I. Vol XIX p. 57.

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worked for the prosperity of the country. The different names of the guilds shows that the money was well distributed and there was no capitalistic tendency in the society. These different organisations later on formed a group by themselves and later became a sub-caste of the Vaisyas caste.

The second class of Vaṇik was that of caravan traders who moved along with large number of bulls or camels loaded with vast quantity of commodities. In Junā record of singhdeva (dated 1303 V. S.) a caravan consisting of ten camels and twenty bullocks has been mentioned.[1] The word *Sārtha* is very significant and has been used in the meaning of caravan i.e. a group of traders.[2] A new word *Vaṇi jāraka*[3] mentioned in one of the Chāhamāna records signifies the same class of caravan traders whose hereditary calling was that of carrying grains on pack bullocks. Some times they carry miscalleneous articles[4] (*Kirana*).

These traders move from far off corners of India. It is said that Mewār market (a prosperous area) was visited by merchants from distant parts of the country viz Karnata, Madhyadesh, Lāta and Takka to the market for business[5]

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 60. उभयमाग्रीव समायात सार्थं उष्ट्र १० वृष २० उभयादपि उर्द्ध सार्थप्रति ।
2. The word सार्थं is referred to in Amara Koṣha as सार्थोऽध्वन वृन्दम् (अमर 2–6–12). It has the same meaning as in the above official document.
3. E. I. Vol. XI p. 40.
   अत्रेषु समस्त वणजारेषु (वनजारा) देसी मिलित्वा वृषभ भरित जतु पाइलाल .....'किराड उआ (देसी means the guild.)
4. Ibid P. 43.
5. कर्णाट मध्यविषयोद्भव लाट टक्का अन्येपि केचिदिह ये वणिजोविसन्ति
   तै कल्पितं मधुरियैः प्रतिपूजनाय दानं न केनाचिदपि व्यभिचारणीयम् ।
   Ins. of Allata of Mewār dated V. S. 1010 (I. A. Vol. 58 p. 161 –2) Karnāta, Madhyadesh and Lāta have been identified with modern Karnātak, Uttar Pradesa and region in Gujarāta respectively but Takha has not been identified. Probably Takka was situated in the south near Andhra country, Matsya Purāṇa (16/16)

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and the traders had to pay a tax to the state. This practice of group traders (*Sārtha*) has been mentioned in two of the Damodarpur copper plate inscriptions of 5th century A.D. where Sārthavaha Bandhumitra is referred to as member of distric council.[1]. Thus it can be stated with precision that the system of caravan was in vogue from 5th century onwards which rose of climax in our period.

In the case of sea-borne trade the materials in the contemporary epigraphic records are very meagre and donot supply proper information. Thus we have to base our conclusions on the literary evidences and writings of muslim historians. The Brihat Kathā Mañjari of Kshemendra mentions a trader Dhana Gupta who used to go on business from East Bengal to the neighouring islands (Lambak II). This business was carried through the port of Tāmbralipti (modern Tāmaluka) in East Pakisthan. This information is confirmed by the account of Arab traveller Sulaimana who has narrated the maritime trade of Bay of Bengal.[2] From Al Idrisi we learn that Bharoch was the important port on western coast where vessels came from China, Sindhu and Persian gulf.[3] It exported a number of products from North India since first century A. D. Arab traders from Persian gulf visited the ports of Sindhu, Surat or

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mentions it in the list of southern regions called Mlecchhadesh from where Brāhmaṇas are not to be invited for Śraddha

कृतघ्नान्नास्ति कांस्तद्वन्म्लेच्छ देश निवासिनां
त्रिशङ्कु वर्वरोड्रान्धान टक्क द्राविड़ कोंकणान्

On the basis of Rājatarangiṇi (tarang 5/150) and Mahābharata (Karn Parva chapter 44) Tukka was the country of Vahikas i. e. between the Bipasa and Sindhu rivers–the Punjab. In this case why Matsya Purāṇa calls Takha Mlecchhadesh is beyond explanation. Uttar Pradeśa was another area for trade and commerce (E. I. Vol XIX p. 57).

1. E. I. Vol. XV p. 130 and 135.
2. Travels of Sulaiman trans. by Mahesh Prasad. Banaras p. 23–27. Arab aur Bharata ka Sambandha p. 25.
3. Elliot–Hitory Vol. I p. 87.

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Bharoch etc. Thus in lack of adequate reference to sea-borne trade in our dynastic records, the account of foreign travellers can not be brushed aside.

The forth section of Vaṇikas carried their business on industrial lines but only a few of such types have been referred to in the official documents. The early mediaeval grants are donative in character, hence industry and economic description was not the main concern of the donor. The first type of industry was pressing of oil seeds and oil mills (*Ghaṇaka*) are frequently mentioned in the records. Siyadoni record mentions one *palika* (measure) of oil to be paid by the mills for the purpose of lamp of the deity.[1] One Chāhamāna record mentions the payment of two *Palikas* of oil from another oil mill (*Ghaṇaka*) on the occasion of *Rathayātrā* ceremony.[2] The pressing was done by means of *Kolhu* which is specifically mentioned in the record.[3]

It would be interesting to note that eveu in the modern time Kolhu is an Indian device of pressing oil seeds in the country, which is used almost in all parts of India.

The second type of industry was the distillation of liquor by another section of Vaṇik called *Kallapāla* (modern Kalawār). It has been stated that the Vaṇik Nayak invested a capital of 1350 coins with the distillers of liquor (Kallapāla) who had to pay every month half Vigrahapaliya drama (a silver

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 177. समस्त तैलिकानां घाणकं प्रतिदिन महत्त धर्मार्थं हेतो तैलपलिका प्रदत्ता ।
2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 42 Paila and Palika are measurement of oil. The 1/20th part of dramma was called Vinsopaka
रथयात्रायां आगतेन आत्म पाइलामध्यात् विंशोपक दत्तः
अत्मीय घाणक तेल व मध्यात् पलिकाद्वयं (प्ली २) प्रदत्तः
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 160.
समस्त तैलिक श्रेण्या प्रति कोल्हू मासि मासि
शुक्ल नवभ्यां तैल पलिका दातव्ये

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Coin) on every cask of liquor to Viṣṇu temple.[1] This shows that the distillation was done on a large scale by that section of Vaiśya named *Kallapāla*. The business of liquor is still associated with Kallapāla-the modern Kalawar in north India.

(B) Taxes on trade.

The analysis of the epigraphic records regarding the various sources of revenue shows that the expression *Bhāgabhogakara* stands for the regular taxes paid to the state by the people.[2] The Smṛti literature invariably use the term *Bhāga* or its synonym *aṁsa* for denoting the land tax.[3] The king is very often described as subsisting on *Saṣṭāṁśa* i. e. 6th part of produce of the land. The *Bhogakara* was the pretty taxes paid to the king in cash or kind. From Siyadoni record (10th Cent. A. D.) we learn that different types of taxes were paid by the Vaṇik class. The oil guild paid Palika of oil whereas gardener supplied garland to the temple.[5] Several records of our period mention the taxes in cash which was probably same as *Bhogakara*. This tax was different according to the means of transport. The inscriptions mention four such kinds of taxes—

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 174 वाणिक नागकेन चण्डुसुतेन परिमित मूल्येन क्रीत्वा— देवस्य समर्पिता तथा समस्त कल्लपालानां मध्ये यस्य सत्कमद्य भाण्डं निःपद्यते विक्रयं याति स च स चन्द्रार्कं यावत् विग्रहपाल सत्क द्रमार्द्धिका दातव्या ।

2. E. I. Vol. IX p. 112 सहिरण्य भागभोग सोपरिकर सर्वादाय समेत ।
(Āmagāchchhi plate E. I. Vol. XIV p. 299)
भागभोगकर हिरण्य आदि प्रत्याय समेत ।
(Gāhaḍavāla records E. I. Vol. VIII p. 154; Vol. XVIII p. 222)
भागभोगकर हिरण्य प्रवणिकर प्रभृति प्रत्यय आदाय ।
(Betama grant of Bhojadeva E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 320)
सहिरण्य भागभोग सोपरिकर सर्वोदाय समेत ।

3. Gautam X, 24; Manu VIII, 130 : Kautilya V. 2.

4. E. I. Vol. I p. 175.

5. Ibid p. 160 तैलिक श्रेन्या प्रतिकोल्ह मासि मासि शुक्ल नवभ्यां तैलपलिका दातव्ये ।

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(1) One Vimśopaka (1/20 of coin) on a bullock load
(2) Two coins for twenty *pailas* load on bullocks
(3) One coin for each bullock cart
(4) One drama for every horse load.

Arthuna inscription of Paramāra Chāmunda Rai (dated 1078 A. D.) speaks of many kinds of taxes that the trades had to pay[1] and another Paramāra document refers to the same kind of tax levied on every bull load of commodities coming towards the market.[2] The Chāhamāna record mentions the grant of income derived from tax levied at the rate of two coins for every twenty pails load on bullocks and one rupee for each bullbck cart filled with commodities coming under the class *Kirānā*.[3] The specific mention of *Kirānā* (spices etc) would suggest that the taxes differ on commodities loaded on bullock carts. A reference to this kind of tax may be gleaned from the lines of the record of Chāhamāna Rājyapāla where one twentieth part of income has been dedicated,[4] derived from the tax on bullock cart loads going on the way of *Nadlai*.

This tax differs in the case of horse load and in Bayana record (Bharatpur state, Central India) of 10th Century A. D. that was fixed by *Maṇḍapika;* for example one Drama on every horse load of merchandise carried to the market of the place.[5] The word *Maṇḍapikā* has a speeific meaning of

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1. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 298–303 verses 69–8.
2. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 48 : राजा श्री जयसिंहेन अस्मै देवाय भक्तितः ।
   वृषभं प्रति भोगार्थं मार्गे विंशोपको दत्तः ॥
3. E. I. Vol. XI p. 43 : Paila may be some quantity of load. It may be compared with modern gunny bags. Then 20 Pailas would be loaded on ten bullocks. समस्त वृषभ भरित ज तु पाइलाल गमने ततु बींस प्रतिरूआकिराउ उआ गाडं प्रति रू ? वणजारकै धर्माय प्रदत्तं ।
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 37. स्वपुण्यार्थे स्वीमादान मध्यात् मार्गे गच्छतानामागतानां वृषभानां शेकेषु यदा भाव्यं भवति तन्मध्यात् विंशति मो भागः — — देवस्य प्रदत्तः ।
5. Ibid Vol. XXII p. 127.

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tolls house[1] where the taxes (duties[2]) were deposited by the traders. It appears that *Maṇḍapikā* was controlled by some officer of the state whose real designation is still unknown. In Pāla records an officer named *Hātaka* has been included in the list[3] of state officers, who probably managed the markets (Hāta). There was also a superintendent to check the falsification of weights i. e. to keep proper weight system in all markets of the state.[4]

The tax was realised daily from the traders on the sale of commodities but in the case of oil trade the guilds may give once a month,[5] though the daily payment of *Falika* of oil has not been ruled out.[6]

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 175; Vol. XXII p. 127; Vol. I p. 101. (मण्डपिकोत्पत्ति धनदत्ता षट् प्रत्यहं द्रम्माः)
2. The tax has been termed *Hātakadāna* हाटकदान (E. I. Vol. Vol. III p. 264). The word *Hātakadāna* is derived from the word *Hātta* and stands for tax realised in the octri house (Mandapikā) of the market (E. I. Vol. III p. 264). This record gives valuable information regarding the taxes on the local market. 1/20 coin was realised on every sack of corn sold in the Hātta; two Pulika on every Ghataka or Kumbhaka (jar of leather oil vessel); two Vinśopaka on every shop of the market and fifty Cholika (bundle) of leaves from outside the city (Ibid).
3. The list in Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla and Nālanda plate of Devapāla is very much similar राजा राजानिक राजपुत्र, राजामात्य सेनापति विषयपति भोगपति षष्टाधिकृत दण्डशक्ति, दण्डयाशिक चौराधरणिक दौहसाधसाधनिक — — — — महासामताधिपति हाटक तलवाटक etc. (E. I. Vol. IV and Vol. XVII p. 525).
4. E. I. Vol. IV p. 248. प्रत्यापणं मानपः
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 160. तैलिक श्रेण्या प्रतिकोल्हू मासि मासि शुक्ल नवम्यां तैलपलिका दातव्ये।
   E. I. Vol. I p. 174. समस्त कल्लपालानां.....प्रति मासान्मासं विग्रह तुङ्गीय द्रमार्द्धं दातव्या।
6. E. I. Vol. XI p. 177. समस्त तैलिकानां घाणकं घाणकं प्रतिदिनं धर्मार्थं हेतो तैलपलिका प्रदत्ताः।

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(c) Means of Transport.

The principal means of transport in our period was bullock cart frequently mentioned in Chāhamāna records.[1] The history of this cart goes to a hoary antiquity when Mohenjo-daro people used to carry load on the bullock carts.[2] The word *Sakata* for cart has been used in the Nānāghāt inseription[3] of Andhra queen *Naganika*. The same word with a slight modification has been referred to in the document[4] of Chāhamāna king Rājyapāla, but the word Gād has not been left out.[5] Among the terracotta objects found in almost all parts of India the bullock cart is prominently represented pointing out its popularity in the society. The second speedy means of transport was bull frequently used by the individual trader to carry commodities from neighbouring areas. A merchant may have many bulls to carry large quantity of articles at one and the same time. Bulls and camels were taken into a caravan[6] carrying merchandise from far off regions. The horse was seldom used to carry loads to the markets though we find a reference to horse load in Bayana record[7] of 10th century A. D. This animal was imported to India mostly from Arabia. The horse was costly animal meant for riding and was also used in chariot during war period though there was no bar to load him. Even in modern days village mderchants carry loads of marchandise on bulls and horses of the inferior breed. These means of transport were only possible on roads but the water transport was also available in that deriod. In the Pāla

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 37 & 43.
2. Mahenjo–daro & Indus Valley civilisation Vol. III Pl. C. L IV no. 10.
3. Arch. Surv. of West India Vol. V p. 60.
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 37. मार्गेगच्छता नामागतानां वृषभानां शेकेषु ।
5. Ibid p. 43 The modern Hindi word for the bullock cart is गाड़ी or गाड़ ।
6. E. I. Vol. XI p. 60,
7. E. I. Vol. XXII p. 127.

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and Sena records the word *Nauvātaka*[1] and *Nauvitāna*[2] have the special significance and have been mentioned in connection with movement of boats or fleet in the river Bhāgirathī.[3] This shows that bridge was made by arranging boats as the case of many other rivers. Therefore it may be stated that common trade routes pass along roads and it (trade) was also carried on through inland water and sea. In this context the name of *Yuktakalpataru* is worth mentioning. The writer of this book Parmāra king Bhoja deals with the ship and boat building activities in the latter half of the period under review (700–1200 A. D.). There is no contemporary record to throw light upon the condition of roads but the description of the towns[4] in the epigraphs and huge and the anormous quantity of booty[5] taken away by the muslim invaders would point to the prosperity of the capitals and flourishing condition of Tirthas,[6] due to the growth of trade and commerce in the areas.

(D) The Status and Economic Position.

The system of working (Śreṇi type) adopted by Vaiśya leaves no doubt for the prosperity of Vaṇik class and the study of grants further describes the predilection for religious endowments by Vaṇik. Many official documents contain the reference to Vaṇikas donating cash or kind to the Brāhmaṇas or temples.[7] The erection of Viṣṇu image by Lokadutt raised his respectibility and he called himself[8] *Parama Vaiṣ-*

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1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 249 (Khālimpur grant)
2. Ibid Vol. I p. 309 (Devapāra Praśaśti)
3. E. I. XVIII p. 305; I. A. Vol. XV p. 208
   स खलु भागीरथी पथ प्रवर्तमान नाना विधो नौवाटक सम्पादित सेतुबन्ध-निहित-शैल-शिखर-श्रेणी।
4. Khajuraho inscription E. I. Vol. I p. 149: E. I. Vol. XIX p. 75.
5. Elliot History Vol. II p. 21, 35 and 50.
6. Ibid Vol. II p. 465.
7. E. I. Vol. I p. 170–5; Vol. XIX p. 57.
8. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 353; M. A. S. B. Vol. 5 no. 3 p. 112.

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ṇava Vaṇik Lokadutta. Another merchant was called devotee of Buddha, leader of merchant class and pious among his fellow brothers. He erected the image Padmapāṇi Buddha[1] near Nālandā. Similarly Śiyadoṇi record mentions the erection of Viṣṇu temple by a Vaṇik named Bhandu, nad dedication of shops (Vithi) to Viṣṇu Bhattaraka or Vāmanadeva.[2] He also invested 1350 *Ādivarāhadrama* with distillers on the contract to pay half *Vigrahapaliyadrama* on every cask of liguor to God Viṣṇu for worship.[3] In a record of Rājaputānā a goldsmith is said to have purchased a house in bazar on the lease of 99 years, whose rent was gifted to local temple to provide incense, lamp, white washing and repair of the temple.[4] These benefactions of Vaṇik class raised the status of Vaishyas in the society and they were represented on the governing body (Goṣṭhi) of temple. Such instances are also found in the Gupta records which mention *Sārthavāha* as the member of local administrative body.[5] This Vaṇika class commanded the full confidence o people who used to deposit money with Śreṇi. The record of chāhmāna Alhanadeva[6] refers to a banker called Mahājana who was to pay tax on the occasion of *Rathayātrā* of Jain Tīrathankar.[7] Thus inspite of certain social and religious disabilities the position of Vaṇik was raised due to their predilections for

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1. M. A. S. B. Vol. V p. 93 परम महाजन वणिक् साधु ।
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 170–5.
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 174–5.
   वणिक नागकेन समस्त कल्लपालाकां पार्श्वात् — –
   अपरिमित मूल्येन क्रीत्वा कल्लपालानां महत्तकं —
   समस्त कल्लपालानां सत्कहद्दानामुपरि श्री
   मदादीवाराहद्र १३५० — — सुराभाण्ड प्रति
   मासान्मासं विग्रहतुङ्गीयद्रङ्गाद्ध दातव्या
   धूप दीप नैवेद्यार्थं श्री विष्णु भट्टारकस्य प्रदत्तम् ।
4. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 57.
5. Damodarpur copp. plate inscription (E. I. Vol. XV p. 130 133 & p. 138)
6. E. I. Vol. XI p. 43.
7. Ibid p. 37.

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charitable donations and endowments. This is further supported by *Giriyaka* image inscription (12th ant. A. D.) which records the gift of the image of *Khasarapana* by two merchants of Mathura named Sādhu Śrikara and Sādhu Gomata. The word Sādhu is significant in this context and the modern word Sāhu (a corrupt of Sādhu) is used for Vaishyas in Bihar and Bengal.[1]

Section D

Kāyastha

One of the most important aspect of the social order of the period under review (700–1200 A. D.) is the formation of a new caste group known as Kāyastha, who was not included in *Chāturavarṇa*.[2] Heated controversies have been raged in the mediaeval times about the origin and status of Kāyasthas and even in modern times the decisions of Indian High courts differ on this point. Calcutta High Court[3] held Bengal Kāyastha as Śūdra while Allahabad[4] and Patna[5] High courts recognised the Kāyastha as Dvijas and not Śūdras. Brihaspati as quoted in *Smriti Chandrika* speaks of Gaṇaka and writer (*lekhaka*) as two persons to be associated with the judge and adds that they are *Dvija*. (Kane-History of Dharmaśāstra vol. II pt I p. 76) The word Kāyastha does not occur in ancient Dharma Sutras nor Manusmṛti. The earliest reference is found in the Viṣṇu Dharma Sutra (300 A. D.) Where Kāyastha was appointed by the king to write a document in the royal court.[6] Most of the records of early mediaeval period testify to

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1. J. A. S. B. Vol. XIX 106.
2. चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय विट् शूद्राः mentioned in Dharmaśāstra literature.
3. Indian law report 51 Cal. p. 788; Ibid Vol. 10 Cal. p. 688.
4. 12 Allahabad 328.
5. I. L. R. Vol. VI p. 512–530.
6. राज्याधिकरणे तन्नियुक्तक कायस्थ कृतं
   तदध्यक्षकर चिन्हितं राजसाक्षिकम् (Viṣṇu Dharma Sutra 7, 3)

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this fact and mention that the Praśastis were written by the Kāyasthas.[1]

There is a reference to *Pratham Kāyastha* or *Jyeṣṭha Kāyastha* in Damodarpur copper plate inscriptions.[2] which is regarded as office of Head Clerk[3] by R. D. Banerji. Beside this work *Pratham Kāyastha* also helped in the administration[4] of the district in the post-Gupta age. The survey of official records and Smṛtis clearly points out that unlike other castes, Kāyasthas were predominantly occupational[5] in the first half of our period but later on gained a status like Dvijas. In the earlier inscriptions of mediaeval dynasties the scribe is mentioned as Kāyastha[6] but later on described as belonging to Kāyastha Vansa[7] or Kāyastha Jātiya,[8] which is significant and connotes Kāyastha caste.[9] The examination of several

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1. कायस्थेन लिखित Mitākshara commenting on Yag. 1, 336 says that Kāyasthas are writers and accountants (कायस्थ गणका लेखकाश्च) Kāyasthar are writers being expert in art of writing
   लेखकानापि कायस्थान् लेखकृत्यहितैषिणः (Vṛihat Parāśara X, 10)
   न संकीर्णा वर्णा क्वचिदिह न सापत्य कलुषा :
   स्थिताः कायस्थेन प्रथित कुल शीलोज्ज्वलधिया
   यशः पालेनायं विदितपद विधेन लिखितः
   प्रशस्तेर्विन्याशः कृतयुग समाचार सदृशः (E. I. Vol. I p. 146 V. 59)
2. E. I. Vol. XV p 128.
3. The age of Imperial Guptas p. 80.
4. Faridpur C. P. Inscription. I. A. 1912 p. 195.
5. कायस्थ इति जीवेन्त् विचरेच्च इतस्ततः (Ausanasa Smṛti 34)
   ग्रामयो ब्राह्मणो योज्यः कायस्थ लेखकस्तथा (Śukra 2, 420)
6. E. I. Vol. I. p. 333.
7. Ibid Vol. XI p. 53.
8. The idea of Kāyasha caste did not develop before 9th Cent. A. D. The Ninth century Smṛtikara Vedavyāsa includes Kāyastha along with others (Vedavyāsa 1, 11)
9. It appears that Kāyasthas were no doubt outside Dvija (ब्राह्मण क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः Ibid 1, 4) but included in Chātura-varṇa. Though Mithakshara (1100 A. D.) commenting on Yag. 1, 336 has used Kāyastha as scribe, but it does not mean that till 11th cent. A. D. Kāyastha had not formed into a new caste.

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dynastic epigraphs confirms the earlier view. A person Yasahpāla has been called *Kāyastha*[1] (the scribe) and another individual Prithvidhara mentioned as writer of religious grant,[2] An inscription from Mewar of 10th century[3] A. D. speaks of two scribes and such is the case of various Chandela, Gahadawāla, Chedi and Chāhamāna records where the word Kāyastha used in the sense of a scribe.[4] In the epigraphic documents of these dynasties an important fact is to be noticed that Kāyastha had immigrated to Madhyadesha, Central India, Madhyapradesh and Rājaputānā from Gauḍa the capital of Pālas in North Bengal. Probably the scribes from Gauḍa wrote good hands[5] and hence their services were in great demand. The official records[6] of Chandela dynasty mention Jaddha and Jayapāla as Kāyastha (scribe) from *Gauḍa*. The same is referred to in one of Khajurāho inscriptions.[7] Of 10th century A. D. Similar is the case of Chedi inscriptions[8] which also record several cases of Gauḍa Kāyastha (coming from Gauda). Several epigraphs from Mārwar[9] and other belonging to Chāhamāna family record the names of Gauḍa Kāyastha who were sent for to write the documents. In Chāhamāna

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 146.
2. E. I. Vol. IV p. 153–7 (धर्मलेखी)
3. I. A. Vol. 59 p. 162. लेखितारौ कायस्थौ पालवेल्लकसंज्ञिकौ
4. Sahet Mahet Inscription (E. I. XI p 25)
   श्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवस्य भूपते राज्ञया लिखित ताम्रमेतत सुरादित्यः कायस्थः सर्वशास्त्रवित् ।
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 129 & p. 147. (लिखिता रूचिरा अक्षरा गौड़ेन); C I. I. III p. 208.
6. Record of Yasaḥ Karṇa deva dated 1011 V. S. (E. I. Vol. I p. 123. and Dhangadeva dated 1173 V. S. (E. I. Vol. XI)
7. E. I. Vol. I p. 147.
8. Record of Jāggaladeva (E. I. Vol. I p. 36) In my opinion the word सौड़ in the record is really a mistake for गौड़. Charter of MahasivaG upta (J. B. R. S. 1916 p. 45: E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 6.8)
9. Nadol inscription of Raipāla dated 1198 V. S. (E. I. Vol. XI p. 41 & p. 32, I. A. XIX p. 218). Another record of 10th Cent. A.D. (I. A. Vol. 59 p. 162)

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regime Mahadeva[1] and Pethada[2] were engaged for writing the records. It may be added that it was not the special quality of *Gauḍa Kāyastha* but Kāyastha of other places also wrote as good hand as Gauḍas. Chandravati plate (hailing from Uttar Prādesa) states that Hṛidayadhara Kāyastha was able to write smooth (like fresh leaf) where the lettering was quite clear[3]. Mahoba record of Chandela king Paramardi (V. s. 1230) praises a Kāyastha who wrote a good hand[4].

Besides the use of word Kāyastha the other words karaṇa or karaṇika give the same connotation and most of the Chedi records mention them in the sense of scribe. Gohawa plate of Kārṇadeva[5] date 1047 A. D. describes Sarvānanda as Karṇik while Bidhari records[6] the name of scribe viz Narha who was employed to write Praśasti. Khajurāho inscription gives detailed information of the attainment of a karaṇa (scribe)

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1. Record of Durlabharāja dated 1056 V. S.; Gauḍa Kāyastha (E.I. Vol. XIV appendix ; Vol XII p. 61)

2. लिखित भी गौडान्वय कायस्थ पेथडेन (E. I. Vol. XI p.41)

3. द्विजवर नतिरक्तः शुद्धकायस्थवंश्यो
हृदयधरसमाख्यः श्री शिवस्तंभ सूनुः
अलिखदखिल वर्णव्यक्त पँक्ति प्रशस्यं
नवकिस (श) लय कान्तं ताम्रमे तद्विजानाम् (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 195.)

4. विरचित शुभकर्म्मान्नाम कायस्थ वंश्य
सकल गुण गुणानां वेश्म पृथ्वीधराख्यः
अखिल दवनिपालस्याज्ञया धर्मलेखी,
स्फुट ललितनिवेशैरक्षरैस्ताम्रपट्टम् (E. I. Vol. XVI p. 14)
In Neulpur grant the script is mentioned as Kāyastha nāgari (the script of the Kāyastha). It may be explained that the said characters had some definite form and was used by Kāyastha of those days. There is no doubt that modern Kaithi (a script) is also derived from Kāyastha probably kutila in the form (E. I. Vol. I p. 81)

5. लिखित चेद करणिक श्री सर्वानन्देन

6. E. I. Vol. I p. 262. करणिक धीर सुतेन तु नाई नाम्ना प्रशस्ति लिखिता
I bid p. 81 (Karaṇika from Gauda)

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who knew Sanskrit language, wrote good hand[1] and was immigrant from Gauḍa (N. Bengal). The examination of the mediaeval records clearly shows that karaṇa had been used in the sense of a scribe[2]. Why the new word was adopted for Kāyastha is difficult to explain but more or less both were used simultaneously. Probably the word *karaṇa* had some significance and therefore we find that *Śri Karaṇa*[3] was the name of secretariate in 12th ceutury A. D. during Chāhamāna rule.

Further study of the epigraphic documents reveals that Kāyasthas were also appointed on the responsible post under the kings because the condition and status of Kāyasthas were gradually improved. The very appointment on the high posts indicates that Kāyasthas began to command respect and honour in the society and their status among the varicus castes was appreciably-raised.

Besides the proficiency in Śāstra and language[4] Kāyastha were councillors of Kings. An individual Gajādhara belonging to Gauḍa acted as war and peace minister under Chandela king Parmardi[5]. Another worked as superintendent of treasury[6] of king Bhoja. The son of this officer was famous warrior and the office of keeper of records[7] of the state was assigned to one of the Kāyastha in Bengal. Perhaps the high positions in the state may be the reasons for the inclusion among Dvija class but nothing can be said precisely on this point,

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1. संस्कृतभाषाविदुषां जयगुणपुत्रेन
   कौतुकालिखिता; रुचिराक्षरा
   प्रशास्तिः करणिक जद्धेन गौड़ेन (E. I. Vol. I p. 129.)
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 330, 333; Vol, IV P. 25; 253 E. I. Vol. XII p. 75
3. E. I. Vol. III p. 206
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 36
5. गौड़ान्वैयैकतिलकस्य गजाधराख्यो
   लक्ष्मीधरस्य तनयः कवि चक्रवर्ती
   विद्यावताम्स परमः परभद्धि देव
   संधानविग्रहमहासचिवो वभूव (E. I. Vol. I p. 211 : E. I. Vol. XXI p. 54.)
6. Ibid Vol. I p. 331. कोषाधिकारी
7. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 251. (बीरमुख्य and महाक्षपटलिक)

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In the later records of early mediaeval period we find difinite mention of sub-castes of this new caste mentioned as Kāyastha Jāti or Kāyastha family[1]. This caste was subdivided and named on geographical basis i. e. after the area where they lived or from where they migrated. Thus Kāyastha from Gauḍa was known as Gauḍa Kāyastha[2]. In the official documents words occuring as for Kāyastha[3] definitely mean the family of Gauḍa Kāyastha[4]. In other words the Kāyastha, from Gauḍa formed the first sub-group of this caste. The second is the Māthura Kāyastha described in the inscriptions hailing from Rājaputānā and Central India. In a fragmentary record from Gwalior of 12th century A.D. a person Manoratha has been described as immigrant from Mathura and belonged to Kāyastha caste[5]. Similarly in the official document of Hammira a Kāyastha immigrant from Mathura has been recorded[6]. This is further supported by Bhinmal record dated V.S. 1306 where members of Māthura family are said to have deposited 40 Dramma for religious purposes[7]. It may be suggested that the Kāyastha families went to other areas from Mathurā for their livelihood and became famous as Māthura Kāyastha. The third sub-group of Kāyastha was known from the record as *Śrivāstava*[8]. Banaras plate of Govindachandra mentions Kāyastha[9] of Vastavya family, Chandela inscription calls *Kāyastha* belonging to *Vāsthavya* family[10] and the same is the case of the Semara plate of Parmardi where Pṛithividhara has

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 55
2. गौडान्वय कायस्थ or गौड़कायस्थ वंश
3. E. I. Vol. XII p. 61 (गौड़कायस्थ वंश)
4. Ibid Vol. I p. 211 : I. A. Vol. XIX p. 218 (गौड़ कायस्थ)
5. I. A. Vol. XV p. 202 Arch. Report of Gwalior state 1927–28 p. 15.
6. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 50 मथुरापुरीविनिर्गतकायस्थ
7. E. I. Vol. XI p. 57. (मथुरान्वय कायस्थ)
8. Ibid Vol. IV p. 194 (वास्तव्य कायस्थ)
9. E. I. Vol. IV p. 104 E. I. Vol. I p. 331 (वास्तव्य वंश)
10. J. A. S. B. Vol. VI p. 882–4

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been described as scribe of similar *Vāstavya* family[1]. Malhara and Sahet Mahet inscriptions speak of *Vāstavya* Kāyastha family[2] like Chedi document which was written by the member of the same family[3]. In the case of Gauḍa and Māthura, it is Perfectly clear that designations of Kāyastha was purely on regional basis and those were derived from the original place of their migration. Similarly in the case of *Śrivastava* it may be presumed that the title was derived from *Śrāvasthi* (the place of their inhabitance situated near Gonda in Uttar Pradesh) or better explained as abode of *Śri* (Lakshmi).

A few words may be stated in connection with the fourth group of Kāyastha namely Nigamas. In a Chāhamana record the composer of the Praśasti[4] viz Subhakara has been described as Naigam Kāyastha. The similar reference is also found in Nadol inscription[5] of Alhaṇadevi dated 1281 V. S. The composer Śridhara mentioned as son of Vāsala and grandson of Manoratha–a member of Nigam community. Though it is difficult to derive this word Nigam from some geographical term like other three but Nigama class of Kāyastha are found in Uttar Pradesh. These four classes of Kāyastha as referred to in the early mediaeval epigraphs are still represented in modern times. Except Bengal, all the designations are current in Bihar, Uttar Pradesa, Central India and Rājaputānā.

As regards the formation of the word Kāyastha there is nothing to show its association with writing or connotation of a writer. Most probably this may be Sanskritisation of a non-Aryan formation but it does not help us to arrive at definite conclusion.

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1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 153 (धर्मलेखी of वास्तव्य वंश)
2. The records are dated 12th century A. D. (I. A. Vol. XVI p. 62 and E. I. Vol. I p. 42.
3. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 210 (वास्तव्य कायस्थ)
4. I. A. Vol. XL. p. 146.
5. E. I. Vol. IX p. 64

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Section E

S'ūdra and other Low castes.

(A) S'ūdra Cast.

Śūdra occupied the last place in Varṇāśrama system who by tradition was regarded low in the society. The Smṛti writers are unanimous on the duty of Śūdra that he should devote his time in the service.[1] of Dvija (Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaisya) for livelihood. In the course of time the position of Śūdra improved hence the ancient authorities permit Śūdra to follow the profession of Vaiśya or to take to various crafts if he was unable to maintain himself by serving Dvija.[2] He was not permitted to sell wine or flesh by Brihatparāśara (p. 101). This shows that in critical situation Śūdra resorted to the avocation of a Vaiśya[3] and the foregoing discussion will show that Śūdra rose in the social status so far as occupation was concerned. Leaving Viṣṇu who allows Śūdra to perform *Pañchayajya*,[4] other Smṛti writers are of view that the Śūdras were not allowed to read the Veda[5] nor engaged in *Japa, Home* and *Tapa,* This is supported by Alberuni[6] whom described the rule which was actually enforced

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1. शूद्रधर्मो द्विजाति शुश्रूषा —Mitākshara on Yāj. 1. 120
   शूद्रस्य द्विज शुश्रूषा परमोधर्म उच्यते
   (Parasar 1, 69) : Manu X, 121; Gautam X, 57.
2. वाणिज्यं पशुपाल्यं च तथा शिल्पोपजीवनम्
   शूद्रस्यापि विधीयन्ते यथा वृर्ति न जायते Śānti Parva 294, 4.
   Yājñavalkya 1, 120 : Nārada (ṛnadana, 58).
3. शूद्रः कुर्यात् द्विजस्यैव सेवामेवं कृषिं तथा
   सुखं तेन लभेन्नूनं प्रवदन्ति महर्षयः (Laghu Āsvalayana 22, 5.)
   Vṛddha Hārita allows only agriculture (7, 189)
4. पंचयज्ञ विधानं च शूद्रस्यापि विधियते (Viṣṇu 5, 9).
5. न केनाचित्छंदसा शूद्रमित्य संस्कार्यो विज्ञायते (Vaśiṣṭha 4, 3)
   श्मशानमेतत्प्रत्यक्षे ये शूद्राः पापचारिणः
   तस्माच्छूद्र समीपे तु नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन (Ibid 18, 11)
   Laghu Viṣṇu has another View that fourth caste is not to have any saṁskāra (1, 15).
6. Sachau Vol. II. p. 136.

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in practice. He further informs that if Śūdra was proved to have recited Veda, his tongue was cut off or according to Attri he was punished by the king.[1] A number of later Smṛti writers distinguish a pious Śūdra from an ordinary one, and extend the former the priviledge of *Śrāddha*.[2] Inspite of the detailed discussion about the priviledge and disabilities of Śūdra in the contemporary Smṛtis,[3] no epigraphic evidence is available regarding the foregoing topics. It is strange that the records of our period do not refer to the activities of Śūdra except the very mention of Śūdra along with other Varṇas.[4] The land grants frequently mention the name of officers who were concerned with that endowment and that list contains the village headman and four castes of the area. The expression of *Chandāla* along with others in the records supports the foregoing remark[5] and makes it clear that Śūdra occupied a distinct place from *Chāṇḍāla*. This view has been expressed by Alberuni who separates Śūdra from Antyaja grouped in eight guilds. The four castes do not live with them in one and the same place.[6]

Śūdras were connected with other three higher castes in intercaste marriages. From the time of Manu, the system was much more flexible. In *Anuloma* marriage i.e. of males of higher castes with femals of lower ones were not uncommon society down to the eighth century A. D. Even orthodox smriti and Nibandha writers regarded them as legal.[7] In other form

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1. Attri Saṁhita 19, 136,
   बध्यो राजा स वैशूद्रो जप होम परश्चयः
   जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा प्रवज्या मंत्रसाधनम् ।
2. शूद्रोपि द्विविधो ज्ञेयः श्राद्धी चैवेतरस्तथा (Laghu Viṣṇu 5/10).
3. Kane-History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II pt. I pp. 154–164.
4. Chamba grant 11th cent. A. D. (A. S. I. A. R. 1902–3 p. 260.)
5. Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇpāla (I. A. Vol. XV V. p. 309) Semra plate of Parmardi (E. I. Vol. IV p. 170 ब्राह्मण चाण्डाल-पर्यन्ताम्).
6. Sachau Vol. I. 101.
7. Baudhayana Dh. Sutra II, 2, 3, 30; Gautama (IV, 1); Vaśiṣṭha

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bride belonged to a higher caste than the bridegroom and such *Pratiloma* was vehemently condemned by Smṛiti writers.[1] Although the marriage with women of lower castes was permissible, the Dharmaśāstras show great aversion for the connection of reverse type. In the opinion of Dharmaśāstra the Anuloma and Pratiloma connections between Śūdra and higher varṇa were regarded as plentiful source of the origin of mixed caste-many of whom were regarded untonchables. The father of Bāṇa had a Śūdra wife as well and her children were living in the same household. Smṛtis reflect the popular feeling and the authors of records have mentioned the existing caste of the society. We have no further epigraphic data to add anything regarding the position of Śūdra in the society but he was not taken as untouchable. It is difficult to say precisely when Śūdras were regarded untouchable in the Hindu Society as our documents mention Śūdra and Chāṇḍāla (Antyaja) separetly.

(B) Antyaja (Low Castes).

Though the early Smṛti writers mention only four varṇas[2] but no distinction was made between Śūdra and Antyaja in their *Dharma*.[3] Gradually a distinction was made between Śūdra and Chāṇḍāla and fresh castes were added to the list of untouchables.

The epigraphic documents of our period (700-100 A. D.) very often refer to Chāṇḍāla who was regarded by Smṛti writers as Antyaja[4] (untouchables) perhaps it was synonym

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Dharmasutra (I, 24); Manu (III, 12-13) and Yājñayalkya (1, 55 and 57). Apasthama looked with disfavour even the marriage called Anuloma.

1. Gautama 12, 3 prescribes heavy punishment for a Śūdra having sexual intercourse with an Ārya woman.
2. Manu 10.4 Anusasana 47, 18 चतुर्थ एकजातिस्तु शूद्रोनास्ति तु पञ्चमः ।
3. Manu 10, 41 शूद्राणान्तु सधर्माणः सर्वेऽपध्वंसजाः स्मृताः ।
4. Manu IV, 61. (Veda should not be recited in the presence of Chāṇḍāla) Yāj. 1, 273 : Āpasthamba Dh. Sutra I, 3, 9, 9.

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for all classes of untouchables in the society. The Pāla[1] and Chandela[2] records refer to low castes who were present in the society and they are informed by the king about the grant. The very expression *Sambodhayati* (address) and *Samājñapayati* (ordered) are very significant and it points that all four castes along with Chāṇḍāla and other low castes[3] were addressed by the king-the donor of the grant in Northern India including the east punjab.[4]

It is a tragedy that the dynastic records of early medīaeval period donot give detailed information in the case of Chāṇḍāla. The contemporary Jain and Pali literatures have supplied ample data to have true picture and proper idea of the low castes present in the Hindu society. In Jain text chāṇḍāla is mentioned along with other tribes as Kaliṅga and Gandhara etc. and was looked upon as untouchables. (S. B. E. II, 2, 27) Even in Pali texts chāṇḍāla is clearly depicted as untouchable and the contact of air that touched chāṇḍāla body was regarded as pollution (Jatak III. 233 and IV 376. 397) Jugglers and acrobates mentioned as chāṇḍāla. According to Dharmasutra and Smṛti writers Chāṇḍāla was the out come of

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1. Bhagalpur grant I. A. Vol. XV p. 309.
   प्रतिवासिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्—चाण्डाल पर्यन्तान्—समादिशति च।
2. E. I. XX p. 136; E. I. Vol. IV p. 170
   चाण्डालपर्यन्त सर्वान् सम्बोधयति
   E. I. Vol XXXI P. 166 and Vol XXXII P. 118–22
   ब्राह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यान् कुटुम्बि कायस्थ दूत वैद्य
   मेद चाण्डाल पर्यन्तान् सम्बोधयति समाज्ञापयति
3. E. I. Vol. XX p. 136.
   कायस्थ नापित महर मेदधीवर चाण्डाल पर्यन्तान्
   Monghyr grant I. A Vol. XXI p. 256
   ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् महत्तर कुटुम्बी पुरोग मेदान्ध्रक चाण्डाल पर्यन्तान् समाज्ञापयति
   मेदचाण्डाल पर्यन्ता Bangarh grant of Mahipala I (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 327)
   Mixed castes were back ward tribes who were annexed to the four original castes on an arbitrary genisis.
4. A. S. I. A. R. 1902–3 p. 252.

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the *Pratiloma* form of marriage i. e. Śūdra male and Brāhmaṇa girl[1]. Because Chāṇḍālas occupied a place after Śūdra as evidenced by the above mentioned official documents, it corresponds to the Antyaja of Brihatayam[2]. Attri held that seven different professional groups were classed as Antyaja[3]. While Veda Vyās includes Chāṇḍāla in that list of Antyaja[4] numering 12. The accounts of muslim writers are definite on this point and Chāṇḍāla (Sandalia) has a place among the seven castes mentioned by Abu Khurdābda[5]. The information of Alberuni about caste system is more detailed and interesting. Alberuni who was a fairly close student of Sanskrit and Dharmaśāstra literature describes Antyajas after the Śūdra. He supports the view expressed by Attri and Veda Vyās and reckoned them not among the castes but only a member of certain profession. He mentioned eight classes of Antyajas who freely intermarry with each other. These eight guilds are[6]

(1) The fuller or washerman (रजक)
(2) The shoe maker (चर्मकार)[7]

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1. Vaśiṣṭha Dh. Sutra XVIII, I Vedavyas 1, 9 ब्राह्मन्यां शूद्र जनितः चाण्डालो धर्मवर्जितः

   Yaj. 1,93—शूद्राज्जातस्तु चाण्डालो सर्वधर्म वहिष्कृतः

   Ausanas 8—ब्राह्मण्यां शूद्र संसर्शाज्जातश्चाण्डाल उच्यते
2. ब्राह्मण क्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां चान्त्यजातिनाम्
3. रज्जकः चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड़ एव च
   कैवर्त मेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः (Attri 199) Smriti Chandrika quotes Pitamāha as the same caste–Kane History of Dhamaśāstra-Vol. I p. 227.
4. Vedavyas Smrti 1/11,12 चर्मकारो भटोभिल्लो रजकः पुष्करो नटो
   बाराटो भेद चाण्डालौ दाशः श्वपच कोकिलाः
   एतेऽन्त्यजाः समख्या ये चान्ये च गवाशनाः

   The despised castes of Chāṇḍala of early pali text (Majjima Nikāya II. 152 and III p. 169.) Correspond to untonchables of Brahmanical society.
5. Elliot–History Vol. I p. 16–7 and 76.
6. Sachau Vol. I p. 101–2
7. Charmakar mentioned by Rājataraṅgiṇi as low people living out side the village (Tarang 4, 55)

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(3) The Juggler (नट)
(4) The basket maker (बुरुड़)
(5) The sailor (मल्लाह)
(6) The fisher-man (कैवर्त)
(7) The hunter of wild animals (भेद) and
(8) The weaver. (तंतुवाय)

These may be equated with Antyajas of Smṛti writers. The four castes do not live with them in one and the same place and these guilds live near the village but outside of the area of four castes[1]. From very early times (Ap. Dh. S. II 1,2, and Gautama XIV, 30) they are regarded as untouchables because their professions were dirty[2]. The sailor and the hunter were supposed to have sprung from *Pratiloma* union[3]. Besides the eight guilds the lowest workers are enumerated as Hādi, Doma, Chāṇḍāla and Bhadhatu.[4] Chāṇḍālas are common to Alberuni and early mediaeval epigraphs but Hādi, Doma and Badhatav now remains to be considered. What section of untouchable was known as Hādi is not clear but the Domas were welknown among untauchables because of their quality of music. Rājatarangiṇi mentions king Chakravarmana who went outside the court hall to grant an audience to the Doma dancer an vocalist musician[5]. They were on the same level of Chāṇḍāla and followed the profession of singers. It should also be remembered that Doma was an untouchable therefore the king had to come outside the hall. This feature of untouchability in

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1. Elliot Vol. I p. 101 ff. Manu (X, 51–56) also speaks of house of Chāndāla situated outside the village.
2. It is said that sixteen thounsand Brāhmanas lost their caste because they took food polluted by chāndāla (jatnka IV, 387)
3. Manu X. 34, 48,
4. Sachau I p. 101
5. Rāj. Taranga 5, 354 : VI, 182 and 192. Similar features are still found in the modern doma class who use to play on an instrument called Singa. Their caricatures are called Domakachha (डोमकक्ष) a corrupt form of Domakrita (डोमकृत) i. e. the features of Doma which is copied by females at the time of marriage in the states of Bihar, U. P. and M. P.

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this case may be supported by an Āgama called *Hevajra Tantra* where *Prajna* (the female energy) is described as *Dombi* (a female of very low caste) as she was untouchable[1]. In philosophical term she is untouchable (अस्पर्सा) as she cannot be grasped by senses. Because Prajna is Asparsa and same is case with Doma (an untouchable) so she is called *Dombi*. Here it is understood that Doma was an untouchable hence Doma girl (*Dombi*) was suitable name of *Prajnya*. The term Badhatau of Alberuni may be taken as corrupt form of *Vādhaka*, the executioner who is untouchable even according to the Dharma Śāstra literature.[2]

The question of untouchability has been discussed by the Smṛti writers in greater detail, but the distinction between eight untouchables drawn by Alberuni is unknown to Smṛti literature. What led Alberuni to put weaver, sailor, and hunter as untouchables of first group is difficult to say. Later Smṛti writers like Angiras[3], Attri[4] and Āpasthamba[5] who discussed the problem of untouchables declare all groups of Antyajas as untouchables. It should be noted that like our dynastic epigraphs, Smṛti writers pronounce Chāṇḍāla in a collective sense for all Antyajas, It was thought that contact of Chāṇḍāla with Brāhmaṇa would pollute the latter. Angiras goes further to prescribe different *Prāyaschita* for each of four Varṇas if they happen to drink water in the pot of Chāṇḍāla[6].

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1. MS. R. A. S. B. no. 113/7 अस्पर्सा भवति यास्मात् तत्मात् डोम्बी प्रकथ्यते
2. Dr. Altekar–Rāṣṭrakūtas and their Times, p. 323
3. Angiras Smrti 17,20
4. Attri Samhita 17,4
5. Chapters IV and V
6. Angirah 4–5 : Vrihatayama 1, 9
   चाण्डालकूपभाण्डेषु मस्त्वयः पिवते द्विजः
   प्रायश्चितं कथं तेषां वर्णे वर्णे विनिदिशेत्
   चरेत्सांतपनं विप्रः प्राजायत्यं तु भूमिपः
   तदर्धं तु चरेद्वैश्यः पादं शूद्रः समाचरेत्
   चाण्डालघटभाण्डस्थं यस्तोयं पिवति द्विजः
   तत्क्षाते क्षिपते यस्तु प्राजायत्येन शुध्यति ।

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In the case of touch one has to take bath to purify oneself

चाण्डालेन्तु च संस्पृष्टः स्नानमेव विधीयते[1]

चाण्डाल स्पर्शने चैव सचेलं स्नानमाचरेत्[2].

The seriousness is increased when only the look at Chāṇḍāla demands *Āchamona* from Dvija for purification.[3] Under the circumstances taking of food of Chāṇḍāla was out of question. But in the abnormal case the four castes have to perform different penances.[4] The above discussion shows that even Śūdra was not allowed to have any contact with Chāṇḍāla (untouchables). These later Smṛtis were composed between 600–900 A. D. and we have to rely on the authority of those Smṛti writers with regard to the status of the Antyajā and their social conditions in the society.[5] The official records do not say anything substancial on the subject of untouchability except that the Caāṇḍāla lived outside the village, which was to avoid contact with higher castes.

(C) Aboriginal Tribes.

Besides the references to four castes and Chāṇḍāla in early mediaeval documents, the archaeological sources supply further information about some tribes called "forest or aboriginal tribes". In one of the inscriptions of Chedi king Jaggaedeva a non–Aryan tribe viz Dhīru has been mentioned as rebel who raised the head against Kalachuri monarch. This rebellion put the king in a critical position and so Dhīru has been called Dhiru mahagrāh[6] in the epigraph. Similar reference

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1. Attri 239.
2. Parasar Smrti 6/24.
3. Angiras 17.
4. Attri Samhita 176–77.
   चान्डालान्नं यदा भुङ्क्ते चातुर्वर्णस्यनिष्कृति!
   चान्द्रायणं चरेद्विपः क्षत्रः सांतपनं चरेत्
   षड्रात्रमाचरेद्वैश्यः पंचगव्यं तथैव च
   त्रिरात्रमाचरेच्छूद्रो दानं दत्वा विशुध्यतिः
5. In Law book we have no provision of discriminatory scale of compensation for the murder of higher Varṇas and Śūdra is placed on the same footing as Dvija (Viṣṇu XXXVII, 34, 35).
6. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 210.

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in Yājṇavalkya (2, 294) lays down that Śūdra who had intercourse with chāṇḍāla woman, is reduced in his position. Kātyāyana also mentions them separately (Katya. 351) Śūdra gained status only levelling with higher Varṇas and treated as above untouchables. Law givers retain the distinction between Śūdra and Chāṇḍāla. In earlier period also Chāṇḍala lived outside the village or boundary of the town (Anuśasana Parva 47,02) Fahien relates the same story that they had to strike a piece of wood as warning to others to avoid their touch.

Chāṇḍāla worked in Hindu society as hunters but associated with cremation work, sweeping roads or occupation of gugglers (Jataka IV. 390). They led a life of misery and a person without moral (Ang. Nik. III, 206). some wild tribes are mentioned in Naihati grant of Ballalasena, Where Bhilla, Sabar and Pulinda are referred to as tribes who were reduced to submission by the governor of the king commanding the fort.[1] The Bhilla has been mentioned by Smṛti writers Attri[2] and Vedavyas[3] as untouchable, but Sabar and Pulinda were wild mountain tribes. *Mahābhārata* speaks of Pulinda and Kirāta dwelling on the Himalaya[4] where as Ausanasa speaks of Pulinda as illegitimate offspring of a Pratiloma marriage (Śūdra male and Kshatriya female).[5] He subsists on the produce of the forest and by killing wild animals. Sabar may be placed in the same category. From Pāhādapur excavations some terracotta plaques have been found among which one specimen illustrates the various features of a wild person. The physical appearances are of some aboriginal tribe which has been named as plaque of a Sabar tribe by archaeologists.[7] Perhaps

1. E. I. V01. I p. 335.
   भियामभूमि विगणज्यचैनां दुर्गाधिकारे नृपतिः प्रचके ।
   आज्ञाकरान्पलिनिवासिनीयं चकार भ्रिल्लान्सबरान्पुलिन्दान् ॥
2. Attri Samhita 92.
3. Vedavyās Smṛti 1, 11–12.
4. Vanaparva 140, 25.
5. नृपायां शूद्रसंसर्गाजातः पुलिंदमुच्यते (Ausanas 17).
6. Pahadapur has been assigned a date of 8th and 9th cent. A. D.
7. A. S. Memoir no. 55.

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they lived on outlying regions of Bengal, As they lived in vast jungle tract, they had acquired the hunting propensities. The Sabara features are very much undeveloped akin to uncivilised man. A leaf apron hardly to cover their shame appears in the plaque. The male Sabara is beared and had bow and arrow while female is depicted clad in a simple string of leaves round the waist. The coiffeurs of Sabara is neatly delineated. She has ear ornaments of jungle leaves, neklace of beads and gunja seeds with which aboriginal woman loves to decorate her body. This evidence combined with the reference in Naihati grant goes to prove that Sabara lived in the wide forest tract extending from Madhya Pradesh to Bengal. The entire western part was inhabited by Dhīru and Pulinda and Sabara were active from west to east. In Central India region they were also active and in the age of Bhojavarmana Chandela these Bhila, Sabara and Pulinda were reduced to submission[1]. Sabara is said to have submitted to the king of Kashmīr.[2] Thus it may be suggested that throughout the northern India aboriginal tribes inhabited the forest area and whenever they raised their head against the royal authority they were humbled down by the rulers.

Section F

Islamic Elements in Indian Populatian

The period under review is a remarkable age of Indian History when a foreign race–Arab invaded India in 7th century A. D. They first came to Sindh and carved out a principality in the Indus Valley. These foreigners had to encounter Indians at several places, hence the epigraphs contain copious references to the wars between Hindu Rājapūta kings and muslims commonly known as Turuṣka[3]. If we analyse the dynastic re-

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 337.
2. Raj. Tarang. 3, 33.
3. There are a few exceptions to it and the Rohatasgarh inscription (E. I. Vol. IV p, 312; XIII p. 151) and Khalimpur grant (E. I. Vol. IV p. 247) contain the word Yavana for muslim tribe. In earlier literary works (Mahābhaṣya and

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cords of Chedi, Paramāra, Gāhaḍavāla, Chandela and Chāhamāna families we find the word Turuṣka used for Islamic invadors.

Kalchuri plate of Prithivideva I mentions the defeat of Turuṣka at the hand of the monarch[1] and the Udaipur prasasti of Paramāra family calls Arabs with the same name[2]. The enemies of the Chāhamānas[3] and the Chandelas[4] are named Turuṣka in the records of the dynasties. In Jodhpur area Turuṣkas had broken the image of the Hindu deity which was re-installed by a sub-ordinate officer of Chāhamāna feudatory[5]. On account of such distructive behaviour it is described in Kamauli grant that lord Mahādeva commissioned Gahaḍavāla king Govindachandradeva to protect Varanasi from cruel Turuṣka[6].

Besides the common word Turuṣka, Mlechchha[7] has also been used for the Arabs who invaded India in early part of mediaeval period. The record of Visaladeva (1220 V. S.) describes wars with Mlechchha who were Islam by faith and adds that the lord of Sākambari made Āryavarta a real home of Āryans by extirpating the Mlechchhas[8]. Dr. Ojha was of opinion that Mlechchhas of Rājnpūta records had been used for muslims in general[9].

Gargi Samhita) Yavana had been used for Greeks, but in the period from 700–1200 A. D. there was no influx of Greeks to India but only Arabs.

1. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 78. J. A. S. B. Vol. XXXI p. 116.
2. तुरुष्कान—E. I. Vol. I p. 235.
3. E. I. Vol. IX p. 74. दुष्टा तुरुष्क (I. A. Vol. XVI p. 349.)
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 327. Vol. XVI p. 275.
5. E. I. Vol. XX app. p. 58 no. 381.
6. वाराणसी भुवन रक्षणदक्षएको
   दुष्टात् तुरुष्क सुभटा दर्वितु हरेण
   (E. I. Vol.. IX p. 324 V. 16)
7. Gwalior inscription of Bhoja (E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 10)
   Dholapur record of Chāhamāna family (Z. D. M. G. 40)
8. Inscription of Viśaladeva (I. A. Vol. XIX p. 218)
9. History of Rājaputānā Vol. I p. 156. The Smrti writer Devala

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The word Hammira has also been used for Muslim princes in the record of the successors of Govinda Chandra Deva who is said to have defeated them[1]. In another record of Vijayachandra we find a pathetic description of the wives of Hammira whose eyes were pouring water like clouds due to the death of their husbands in wars[2]. It appears that this word was applied to those muslim princes who attacked Rājaputas from the North west part of India. Hence stone inscription of Chāhamāna king Pṛithiviraja I (dated 1167 A. D.) speaks of possibility of muslim attack and his uncle was intrusted the work of protection of the fort against Hammira (Muslim Sultan[3]) The king has been described as equal in strength to Ham Vira (=Hammira)[4]

The epigraphic evidences are supported by the coin legends Śri Ham Vira engraved on the reverse side of the bullion coins current in early mediaeval period[5]. The word Amira used for Sultans of Gazani was the corrupt form of Hammira and consequently the word Amira was attached to the names of muslim nobles or royal princes. In conclusion it may be suggested that Turuṣka (Muslim) fought Hindu kings and became successful after 10th century A. D. when Gurjara Pratīhāras were out of arena, and who were the greatest foe of muslims.[6] It was Pratihāra kings who did not allow

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(9th Cent. A. D.) uses the same word for muslims.

"Mlechchhanitā" (those converted by Mlechchha i. e. muslim in Sindh during 8th and 9th centuries) is the expression found in Devala Smṛti (2). Alberuni informs us that no drinking of water between Mlechchha (muslim) and Hindu was permitted in his time (Sachau I p. 19–20)

1. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 16.
2. भुवन दलन हेला हम्मीर हम्मीर नारी
   नयन जलदधारा शान्त भूलोक तापः (E. I. Vol. IV p. 119)
3. I. A. Vol. XLI p. 19.
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 221.
5. Coins of the Sultans of Delhi Plate XXV
   Cat. of coins in Delhi Museum p. 17 and 18
6. Elliot—History Vol. I p. 4

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the advance of muslim beyond Sindhu and Multan and whenever the Hindu monarch proposed to attack muslim they were frightened by the religious sentiments of breaking the Sun idol by the muslim iconoclasts[1]. In brief it may be stated that muslim subjugated the major part of northern India till 12th century A. D[2].

These foreigners were zealous to spread Islam in India, so it was natural that they settled themselves in different parts of India[3] to achieve their goal.

The settlement of muslims is also proved by the expression Turuṣka-Daṇḍa which was a kind of tax[4] levied on the muslim settlers probably in Gāhaḍavāla dominion[5]. Smith thought that it was a tax imposed on Indian to raise money to ward off muslims[6]. The whole discussion connotes that muslims have begun to settle in India mostly in Uttar Pradesh and Bengal i. e. in the northern plain[7] where they found easy and comfortable life and less opposition after Gāhaḍavāla and Sena regimes. We come across some additional evidence of the settlement of large number of muslims in Sind, where the king Dahar had a body of 500 Arab troops in his service, who are

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1. Elliot—History Vol. p. 82
2. Ibid Vol. II p. 306 Bakhtiyara established his seat of government at Lakhanauti) The Victorious compaign led by Bakhatiyar has also been recorded on a stone boulder (East of Ganhati) in the following words कामरूपं समागत्य तुरुष्काक्षयमाययुः
(I. H. O. XXIII p. 4–6)
3. Elliot—History Vol. II p. 250
4. Common word used for a kind of tax in twenty-three Gāhadavāla records (E. I. Vol. IV; Vol. VIII p. 297) It is differently translated as aromatic reeds or mohemedan amercements (J. A. S. B. Vol. LVI pt. I p. 43)
5. E. I. Vol. IX p. 329, J. B. O. R. S. Vol. II p. 138
6. Early History of India p. 400
7. It is said that Bakhtiyara halted in the house of Muta Maduddaula who lived in the town of Lakhanauti.
A. Elliot History Vol. II p. 311
B. The Tabākati Nāsirī p, 565.

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said to have fled to India to evade punishment by the Caliph[1]. As we have no detailed contemporary history of muslim settlement in India, so it is very difficult to draw a clear picture and to form a definite idea of this problem.

Section—G

Reconversion of Hindus from Islam

The Arabs invaded India and other countries to spread their faith of Islam and every where they converted the local non-believer to their faith. In India they were more successful in converting Indian to Islam. Muslim writers have stated that Bakhtiyāra converted chief of the tribe of Kuch and Mich to Islamic faith[2]. But the fact remains that the spread of Islam almost invariably followed in the wake of military victories[3].

We can infer from the accounts of muslim historians that muslim settled in Sindh at the beginning of eighth century A. D. and reconversion on a mass scale took place during 8th and 9th centuries[4]. The problem of reconversion arose when Hindus came into close contact of muslims in Sindh and Multān regions. Devala[5] is of great help in this respect and his movement appears to be largely responsible for the active compaign of reconversion from Islam, while he wrote his Smṛti in Sindh[6]. The Smṛti is bold one and an aggressive Dharmaśāstra intended to purify *"Mlecchhanītā"*[7] those con-

1. Chachnāma I p. 55–6
2. Elliot—History Vol. II p. 306 and 1132–33
3. Attempts have been made by Mr. Ghani that muslims came to India not as fighters but missionaries. Indians were impressed by the purity of their living and zeal for faith and hence Indians eagerly embraced the new faith in large numbers–fifty thousand every year. (Proc. of Oriental Conf. X p. 403) during 7th century A. D. It is an exaggeration and based on a sailar's tale so does not deserve serious consideration.
4. Elliot Vol. I p. 126
5. Smrti writer of 9th century A. D.
6. सिन्धु तीरे सुखासीनं देवलं मुनि सत्तमम् (Devala)
7. Ibid Verse 2.

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verted by Mlecchhas (muslims). We know that muslim conquerors had a deliberate policy of conversion to make Islam a dominant force and in Sindh people were converted by humiliation and terrorisation. Hindus were induced to adopt new faith because they were offered better social status and material prospects in the society. The contemporary Smṛti writers were alive to the occasion and they prescribe reconversion to the Hindu fold[1]. Even with regards to the problem of abducted women by mlechchhas, the smṛtis show a breadth of vision which was suitable and proper for that age[2]. The problem of purification according to Devala is to be found in Sind, Sauvira, Saurāṣṭra, border lands, Kalinga, Konkaṇa and Vanga[3]. He has discussed the problem of reconversion at great length and extends the limit of purification to twentyfive years[4]. His scheme of purification was highly elastic and the period was reduced to half in the case of woman and sick or an old and underage boy[5]. The age was sufficiently progressive to take a sympathetic view and Smṛti writers had bold outlook in this respect. There is evidence to show that Hinduism of this period was not so conservative or short-sighted as the Present day Hinduism and was ready to follow in practice the gospel of reconversion. But from the account of Alberuni it may be gathered that in 11th century Hinduism had begun to hesitate about the readmitting the converts within its fold[6]. It would thus appear that the growing notions of purity were responsible for the disappearance of reconversion.

It is a tragedy that the offical records of our period donot contain any such reference to reconversion and their silence

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1. Devala Smṛit 47-8 Attri Samhita 200-202
2. सकृद्भुक्तवां तु या नारी म्लेच्छैर्या पापकर्मभिः
   प्राजापत्येन शुध्येत ऋतुप्रसवर्णेन तु (Attri 201)
   गृहीता स्त्री बलादेव म्लेच्छैर्गुर्वीकृता यदि
   गुर्वीन शुद्धिमाप्नोति त्रिरात्रेणेतरा शुचिः (Devala 47)
3. Devaa Smrti Verse 17
4. Ibid V. 55
5. Ibid V. 30, 31
6. Sanchau Vol. II p. 162-3

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and exclusiveness are difficult to explain. It may be suggested that the documents from the 7th to 12th centuries were mostly donative and hence there was no occasion for such reference.

Degradation of Hindu Society.

In the period under review we find that Hindus were following a strange path of narrowness and spirit of exclusiveness, though in the beginning of this period (700–1200 A. D.) the society had the same catholicity as of old times. They, by and by began to hasitate to absorb the new converts into Hindu fold and to have fanatic spirit against those who do not belong to them. They called all the foreigners '*Mlechchha*' i. e. impure and forbid having any connection with them.

The sad picture of the narrowness and bigotry, so brilliantly sketched by the critical Arab scholars is an unerring sign of degradation of Hindu society in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. The cause of such change was the rigid form of caste system and prohibition of inter-dining and inter-marriage between different castes, Brāhmaṇas introduced some new elements in the society which were utterly against the spirit of earlier Dharmaśāstras. The division of people in different castes and sub-castes prevented the growth of a national feeling and this narrowness was in a way responsible for the political downfall of India. The lowering of the position of women as a class weakned the domestic life of the man in the society. The exclusiveness prevented the Hindus from keeping pace with the progress of military science, which resulted in subjugation of the northern India by the foreigners who practised the universal brotherhood among the adherents of their own faith.

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CHAPTER III

Āsrama and Learning.

In the ancient Varṇāśrama system of Hindus the whole life was divided into four Āśramas viz Brahmacharya, Gārhasta, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa. This classification by Smṛti-writers[1] was to some extent followed in our period and we find stray references to these Āśramas. The Goharwa plate[2] of Karṇadeva mentions the same four divisions of Āśramas and study of the verse makes the whole thing clear.

The other references in proceeding pages will show that these Āśrama lives were known to the public but were not followed very rigidly. The records of this period (700–1200.) do throw much light on the problem and organisation of the different Āśramas and their working[3]. We know something of the life of the Brahmachāri who was noticed by Alberuni as student living in the house of master. They used to beg in not more than five houses once a day and even that alms was placed before the master to choose from it.[4] Perhaps the muslim traveller wrote his account after the study of Smṛtis where the life of Brahmachāri has been described in greater detail. As regards the begging of alms Brahmachāri and yati have to go to the village for the purpose and hence the Smṛti-writers put Brahmachāri and a monk (Yati) in the same

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1. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थो यतिस्तथा (Daksha)
   चात्वारो आश्रमो ब्रह्मचारिगृहस्थवानप्रस्थपरिव्राजकाः (Vaśiṣṭha 7, 1).
2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 144.
   नीतेषु प्रमदा वियोग विधिना प्रागु ब्रह्मचारिव्रतं
   सार्द्धं बन्धुतया गृहस्थ पदवीं कारा गृहस्थापनात्
   वानप्रस्थपदं वनाश्रय वशात् भैक्षाच्चतिक्षोः स्थितिः ।
3. E. I. Vol. XI p. 144 Verse 28.
4. Sachau Vol. II p. 131.

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category.[1] Attri has distinquished Brahmachāri from the common student and put them among six beggers.[2] We do fine some references of Brahmachāri in the early mediaeval epigraphs but on that basis it is difficult to say whether *Naistika Brahmachārt* or ordinary student has been referred to therein. In the 8th century grant of Bhojadeva of Kanauja Brāhmachāri Vāsudeva has been mentioned who devoted his time in the study of Āswalāyana Śākhā.[3] Similar reference in Ratalama plate describes the gift of a village to a Brahmachāri of Vājasaneya school[4] and in another record the Brahmachāri is mentioned as student of Vājasaneya Śākhā.[5] A Chāhamana record[6] refers to a life long Brahmachāri (आजन्म ब्रह्मचारी) wrongly translated by Kielhorn as religious student from birth.

The grant of Devapāla also mentions Hariśwara as Brahmachāri studying Sāmaveda.[7] The mere reference does not give a definite idea about the life of Brahmachāri in the society.

The documents of this age are silent on the subject of of Samāvartan but entering the household presupposes it. We hear from a 10th cent. record that an individual after finishing his studies intended to enter the state of house holder.[8] This

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1. Briddha Hārita 8, 54. Ibid 8, 238
   यतिश्चब्रह्मचारी च उभौभिक्षासिनौ स्मृतौ
   भिक्षादद्यातत्प्रयत्नेन यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम्
   ब्रह्मचारी यतिश्चैव विद्यार्थी गुरुपोषकः
   अध्वगः क्षीण वृत्तिश्च षडेते भिक्षुकाः स्मृताः
2. Attri Samhita 165.
3. E. I. Vol. V. p. 212.
4. A. S. I. A. R. 1902–3 p. 237.
5. Ibid. p. 255.
   आजन्म ब्रह्मचारी दिगमलवसनः संयतात्मा तपस्वी
   श्री हर्षाराधनैक व्यसन शुभमतिः त्यक्त संसारमोहः
6. E. I. Vol. II p. 123 dated V. S. 1030.
7. E. I. Vol. XV p. 298. हरिश्वर ब्रह्मचारी सामवेदि सब्रह्मचारिन used in the sense of students belonging to the same school,
8. गृहीत विद्यस्सुगृहीतनामा
   गृहाश्रमावाप्ति परो गृहिण्यः Nowgong C. P. (J. A. S. B, 1397 p. 292)

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second Āśrama-Gārhastha is regarded as most important period of human life. Though we have no direct mention of the life followed by Gṛhastha in the dynastic epigraphs but contemporary Smṛtis throw much light on the topic. According to Vedavyās, one gets religious merits by properly following the life of a true Gṛhastha[1].

गृहाश्रमात्परो धर्मो नास्ति नास्ति पुनः पुनः
सर्वतीर्थफलं तस्य अथोक्तं यस्तु पालयेत्

Śankha goes still further and adds that it is Gṛihastha who feeds Brāhmaṇas, Sadhu and Brahmachāri[2]. Gṛihastha is required to offer Homa and Tarpaṇa to Manes[3]. From land grants we learn that such was the life of a king who offered Homa and Tarpaṇa to manes before giving a donation to the learned Brāhmaṇas or to some institutions. Copious references are found in the Gāhaḍavāla epigraphs[4] which mention the Homa and Tarpaṇa by the kings indicating that Grishastha were following the proper religious duties.

The study of the official records do not make clear whether people entered third Āśrama (*Vanaprastha*) or became sanyasi after *Grhasthāśrama*. Some references are found in the records that a certain king left the second Āśrama at the ripe age and under went the hard life of a hermit in order to get salvation.

An inscription clearly mentions that the king of Gurjara Pratīhāra dynasty viz Tāta realising the world as evanescent conferred the kingdom on younger heir of the state; bestowed his property to his younger brother illustrous Bhoja and retired to the hermitage where he practised the rites of pure reli-

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There appears to be no fixed limit for Samāvartana as Bāṇa speaks of his return fromthe teacher's house at the age of fortecn.

कृतोपनयनादि क्रिया कलापस्य समावृत्तस्य चास्य चतुर्दश वर्ष देशीयस्य

(Harshacharita Uchchhhvas I.)

1. Vyas Smṛti 4.2
2. वानप्रस्थो ब्रह्मचारी यतिश्चैव तथा द्विजः
गृहस्थस्य प्रसादेन जीवन्त्येते यथा विधि (Samkhalikhita Smrti 5.5)
3. स्नातः संतर्पण कृत्वा पितृणां तु तिलान्भसा (Ibid 13. 17)
4. I. A. Vol. XV p. 8; Vol. XVI p. 208; E. I. Vol. IV p. 158; XIX p. 291.

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gion[1]. The same inscription describes Bhiṭāditya possessed of *Satva* merits, disposed to *Tapasa*, bes-towed his kingdom to his son and went to hermitage on the bank of the Ganga. He continuously lived for eighteen years and got heaven by fasting[2]. We learn from Pāla record[3] that the Pāla ruler Vigrahapāla abdicated the throne in the favour of his son Nārāyaṇapāla and adopted the life of ascetics. Similar description is found in Sena record[4] where Sāmantasena (C. 1050–1075 A. D.) had been described as a king who entered the Vānaprastha Āśrama in his old age and lived in the forest on the bank of Ganga.

Exactly similar case has been referred to in the inscription of Jaipāladeva that at the age of fifty the king entrusted the state to his son and retired to the bank of the Ganga[5]. It appears that 25 years were devoted for the study and another 25 years for Grihasthāśrama. Thus the traditional age for the 3rd Āśrama was after 50 years as referred to above. The above discription leads us to the conclusion that some of the kings followed the Āśrama system as sanctioned by Dharmaśāstra,

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1. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96
   तातेन तेन लोकस्य विद्युत चंचल जीवतम्
   बध्वाराज्यं लघोर्भ्रातु **श्रीभोजस्य** समर्पितम्
   स्वयं च संस्थित तातः शुद्ध धर्म समाचरौ
   मण्यव्यस्य आश्रमे पुण्ये नर्दा निर्झर शोभिते ।

2. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 98
   भिलादित्य तपोमति
   येना राज्यं कृतं येन पुनः पुत्राय दत्तवान
   गङ्गाद्वारं ततो गत्वा वर्षाण्यष्टादशस्थितः
   अन्ते चानशनं कृत्वा स्वर्गलोकं समागतः ,

3. Bhagalpur grant (V. 17)
   तपोमनास्तु राज्यं तेद्वाभ्यामुक्तमिदं द्वयोः
   यस्मिन् विग्रहपालेन सगरेण भगीरथे

4. Devapara Prasasthi (E. I. Vol. I p. 308)
   येनासेव्यन्त शेषे वयसि भवभयास्कन्दिभिर्मस्करीन्द्रैः
   पूर्णात्सङ्गणनि गंगापुलिन परिसरण्य, पुण्याश्रमाणि

5. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 292 V. 27

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but this is not clear whether they followed the life of Sanyāsi after *Vānaprastha Āśrama* or not.

Self-immolation by Kings.

It has been stated also where that summum bonum of life was to gain heaven, so the people in all ages practised religious suicide as a kind of penance for ending one's life. Though the general suicide was condemned by earlier Dharmaśāstra writers and penalised by law, but at extremely holy places like Prayāg, Amarakantaka and Banaras persons were allowed to kill themselves with the desire of securing release from *saṁsāra*. The Smṛtis, the epics and Purāṇas allow such kind of self-immolation for the purpose of penance. Attri states that old person who can not observe the rules of bodily purification or is so ill that no medical help can be given, should suicide by throwing oneself from precipice or into fire or water or by fasting[1]. In *Anuśāsana parva* it has been stated that if a man knowing Vedanta abondons life in the holy Himalaya by fasting, he would reach the world of Brahmā[2]. So says *Matsya Purāna* and eulogises the man who ends his life by fire, poison, water or by fasting[3]. Thus it appears that the four methods of self-immolation were prescribed by Dharmaśāstra writers and the study of the inscriptions reveals the same thing[4]. With exception of poison the kings ended their lives by drowning, fasting and entering into the fire[5]. Khaira plates of Yaṣah Karṇadeva (dated 1073 A. D.) Narrates that king Gāngeyadeva Chedi obtained release from this world along with his one

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1. Attri Sāmhita 218.
   वृद्धः शौचस्मृतं लुप्तः प्रत्याख्यातभिषक क्रियः
   घातमेद्यस्तु भृग्वग्न्यनशनाम्बुभिः
2. Anuśasana Parva 25; 62–64.
3. Matsya Purāṇa (185; 34-35)
   अग्नौ विष जले वापि तथा चैवह्यनाशके
4. To offer one's life to Devi was also a method of self immolation (Bulletion of London School of oriet. study Vol. VI P. 539)
5. Hiuen Tsang refers to such practice of religious suicide (Beal–Life Vol. I p. 032–34)

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hundred wives near the famous bayana tree of Prayag[1]. We have an earlier reference to such kind of self immolation by fire by Kumara Gupta III. (the ancestor of Adityasena– later Gupta ruler[2]). Prayāga was a holy place for such action, hence king Dhanga of Chandela family is said to have abondoned his life at Prayāg by contemplating on Rudra[3]. The second method (burning in fire) was also adopted in Kashmīr where the king could not tolerate the destruction of his subject hence he sacrificed his body in blazing fire[4]. The other method for ending the life was the fasting unto death. The epigraphs of our period refer to this method and add that the king observed such fast at a holy place. Jodhapur inscription of Pratīhāra family states that Bhilāditya lived near the Ganga where ended his life by fasting[5]. The astronomer Padmanābha of Chedi dynasty followed the similar way of fast for fifty days for self–immolation at the holy tirth called Jambava[6]. It was a kind of religious practice followed in Assam during 10th century A. D. The ruler made the religious suicide by

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1. E. I. Vol. XII p. 205
   प्राप्ते प्रयाग वट मूल निवेश बन्धौ
   सार्द्ध शतेन गृहिणीभिरे मुत्र मुक्तिम्
   According to Padma (Sriṣthi Khand 60/65) by drowning in the Ganga one gets heaven.
   ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि कामतोऽकामतो वा
   गंगायां च मृतोमर्त्य; स्वर्गमोक्ष च विन्दति
2. C. I. I. Vol. III no. 42
   शौर्य सत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयाग गतोधने
   अभ्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः स पुष्पपूजितः
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 140
4. Raj. Taranga II, 41
5. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96–8
   गङ्गाद्वार ततोगत्वा वर्षाण्यष्टादशस्थितः
   अन्ते च अनशनं कृत्वा स्वर्गलोकं समागतः
6. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 165 V. 4
   ये पंचासदहानि चान्त समये त्यक्तवासनं
   जांवव तीर्थं प्राणिविमुक्ति मापनिपुणो वेदान्त सिद्धान्तगः

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fasting and was absorbed in the light of Divine being[1]. Among Jains a similar rule prevailed and the Kalandri inscription records the suicide of a Jain congregation by fasting[2]. Kalhaṇa narrates that in the state an officer was entrusted with the duty of supervising suicide by fast[3] (Prāyopaveśa).

These methods of self-immolation were for the penance and the individual was expected to get salvation. In 12th century A. D. Brāhmaṇas in Rājaputānā used another kind of privation and self-immolation called *Kāyavrata* to force the king to grant their wishes. Though the word *Kāyavrata* does not connote specific method but it may be suggested that Brāhmaṇa fasted before the king for a very long time and it told upon the health of that Brāhmaṇa. The word *Kāyavrata*[4] is technically used in the Chāhamāna record for ending the life of a Brāhmaṇa for a particular secular purpose. It has no religious motive behind so it can not be classified as religious suicide[5].

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1. Nowgang C. P. (J. A. S. B. 1897 no. 4 p. 290)
   अनशन विधिना वीरस्तेजसी माहेश्वरे लीनः
2. E. I. Vol. XX p. 98 no. 691
3. Raj. Taranga VI 1411 25 (sitting down from a solemn fast.)
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 40
   अनया विधिना राणकानां निर्गमापयंतानां अस्माकं मध्यात् यः कोपि ब्राह्मण निर्गमते पेटं पुष्टि वा दर्शयति गृह्यमाणस्तु **कायव्रतं** कृत्वा मृयते ।
5. Self-immolation was Vogue in South India also. Even in mediaeval period nobles were put on the funeral pyre of the king. Abuzaid (Naiwar-Arab Geographer's knowledge of South India P. 97) writes that South Indian kings observed a particular rite known as Māmakham-300 associates of the king taking cooked rice eaten by the king. It is encumbent upon all those who partake of this to burn themselves when king dies or is slain. (Annual Report S. I. Epigraphy 1929-30 P. 267 and 1934-35 P. 122-25.)

   Reference to such custom in 12th cent. A. D. is found in Chola inscription when Velaikkas (personal body guard of the king) dies with their master. Marco polo mentions the same custom in Pandya kingdom-attendants burnt with their master.

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Sanyasa Āśrama.

In the forth Sanyāsa Āśrama the ascetic (*Yati*) had to devote his life for the welfare of the society. Formerly the Sādhu lived in the forest but the condition was changed in our period. Though it is mentioned in the copper plate inscription of Mahāsivagupta that ascetics had no abode and no fix place,[1] but mostly they lived in a Maṭha which owed their origin to the example of Buddhist monasteries. [It received fillip after great Advaita teacher Śankara. Maṭha accommodated Sanyāsi who were not required to live for all the times. Maṭhas are their abode to this day.] From the study of the dynastic epigraphs it appears that Sanyāsī followed the Buddhistic system of monastic life generally called Maṭha in the reeords. From a Chedi record we learn that an individual was designated Sanyāsī as he was fully engaged in meditation and austerity.[2] He is described as having loin cloth (*Kopina Mātra Vasama*) body besmeared with ash and eating limitted food obtained from begging[3] (*Mita Bhiksha Bhogi*). Similar features are found in a plaque unearthed from Pāhādapur temple where the figure of Sanyāsī had the belt of *Munja* grass, the begging bowel, bearded face and hair knot at the back.[4] These Sanyāśis were called Parivrājaka and in most cases worshipped lord Śiva. Even the Buddhist monks were called by the same name in 12th century A. D.[5] They were honoured in the society on account of their learning and even king respected them[6]. The period from 700–1200 A. D. was full of monastic establishments and Hindu Sanyāsī lived in a well contructed building called Maṭha attached mostly to

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1. विनिर्गतञ्च पलगोचर has been used in the record. Proceed. Of Oriental Conference Banaras. Vol. III p. 596.
2. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 210 योगः तपः कर्मरतो नित्यकर्म संयासि कोपियः ।
3. We know that it was sanctioned by the Smṛtis and Attri classifies यति (Sanyāsī) among beggers (Attri 165). Bṛidhahārita (8, 54) says यतिश्च ब्रह्मचारी च उभौभिक्षाशिनौ स्मृतौ ।
4. A. S. Memoir 55 pl. XXVI no. a and b.
5. Sahet Mahet record (E. I. Vol. XI p. 24).
6. E. I. Vol. I p. 267.

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Śiva temple. Because Śiva is described as ideal *Yogin* and in his aspect of a meditative god, is the patron deity of Sanyasins. So the Sanyāsis worshipped Śiva and their Maṭhas were attached to the Śaiva shrines. The examination of the land grants points out that the donors or the kings erected Maṭha near Śiva temple and made endowment to it. Such references are common in the Kalachuri grants. Gangadhar, the minister of Chedi king Ratnadeva III (1181 A. D.) built a Maṭha to the south of Śiva temple[1] and another Śaiva king is said to have erected Maṭha and tank very close to a Śiva temple.[2] The king Jajalladeva built a Maṭha for Sādhus and endowed with garden and mango trees.[3] Another Maṭha was constructed at confluence of Sona river[4] by a Śaiva monk himself. In the Bheraghat record of Alhanadevi it is described that widow of Gayākarṇa founded a temple of Śiva with a Maṭha and its management was assigned to an ascetic of Paśupata sect who migrated from Lāta to that place.[5] Similar description is found in the Bilnari inscription that Chedi king Yuvaraja II was the patron of Śaiva ascetic of Maṭha Māyura sect and great honour was shown by him to Prabhāvaśiva.[6] The record contains long list of benefactions received by Śaiva monks. Another record of this dynasty from the same district supplies us the line of Śaiva ascetics whose feet were adorned by the princes. The Maṭha of Vaidyanāth was made over to an ascetic[7] who after accepting it handed over the manage-

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1. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 165.
   मठः कठोर काण्ठौ घेर त्रैवाकारि धीमता
   देव दक्षिण दिग्भागे निवासार्थं तपस्विनाम् ।
2. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 148.
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 36—(मठः सोद्यानमाम्रवनम्)।
4. E. I, Vol. XXI p. 149.
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 13.
   लाटान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्री रूद्रराशिर्विधिवह्नयधत्ताम्
   स्थानस्य रक्षाविधिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ।
6. E. I. Vol. I p. 267–68. Matha Mayur was a place hense ascetics were known after its name.
7. E. I. Vol. I. p. 259. मठं श्री वैद्यनाथस्य भक्ति युक्तैः समार्प्यत ।

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ment of that Nauhaleśvar Maṭha to his disciple Aghora Śiva.[1] Besides Madhya Pradesa, Rājaputānā record also speaks of the same type of Maṭha which was situated near Śiva temple for the residence of Kapilla ascetics[2]. The same was the condition of Kashmīr where the kings and ministers constructed Maṭhas for the use of ascetics.[3] Kalhaṇa mentions a number of monasteries built by different rulers of Kashmira for the the benefit of Sādhus. The Sura Maṭha was a very high mansion built for the use of anchorites.[4] The monk Vyōmaśiva who had taken the vow of constant austerities was working as superintendent of a monastery in Kashmira.[5] In the reign of Lalitāditya many Maṭhas were founded for Śaiva monks.[6] Thus in Kashmīr, Rājaputānā and Central India region, the Maṭhas were erected in sufficient numbers in close association of Śiva shrines. In Bengal also Brāhmaṇa Maṭha (Maṭha for Sanyāsi) was built in the 7th regnal years of Nārāyaṇapāia[7] who boasted to have built many hundred temples of Śiva and provided seats and medicine to the congregation of Pāśupata teachers[8] (Śaiva ascetics). Therefore the whole analysis makes it clear that Sanyāsī used to reside in the Maṭhas attached to the temples in this period (700–1200 A. D.).

In narrow sense Maṭha was the shelter for Monks (Sanyāsī) but it also functioned as a well established institution where teachers gave instructions to the disciples on religious and other tenets. We know that in Kashmīr a king donated all his property to a Maṭha where pupils were taught[9]. Sanyāsī must

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1. Ibid. P. 260.
   स्वीकृत्यापि मुनिभूर्यो मठं श्री नौहलेश्वरम्
   अघोर शिवशिषस्य साधुवृत्तस्य दत्तवान् ।
2. Arch. Report of Rajaputānā Museum, 1922–23 p. 2.
3. Raj. Taranga 8, 2421–42.
4. Raj. Taranga 5, 38 and 40.
5. Ibid Taranga 7, 298.
6. Ibid 8, 2401.
7. M. A. S. B. Vol. V. p. 60–61.
8. I. A. Vol. XV p. 306. पाशुपत आचार्य परिषदश्च ।
9. Rai. Taranga VI, 87–88.

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have had no property, but the zeal and devotion of the followers of the teacher endowed the Maṭha with moveable and immoveable properties.

The further examination of grants points out that monks called *Yati* had not to maintain themselves on alms but good many endowments were made for the upkeep of the Maṭha and for its requirements. Though Smṛti-writers like Attri[1] and Bṛiddha Hārita[2] prescribe alms for Śanyāsī (Yati) and similar life has been described in one of the land grants[3] but monastic life was the fashion of the day and begging was not necessary for the ascetics. The land grants were administered by ascetics of the Maṭha and the donors asked his successors to assist the monk in the whole management[4]. *Rājatarangiṇi* describes Maṭha with permanent endowments in the reign of Lalitāditya[5]. After the death of the preceptor, the main disciple was appointed the head of Maṭha according to customs and he was installed on *Gaddi*. He succeded the property which was held by his *Guru*[6]. It appears that the management of the whole establishement was entrusted to the chief monk who in later days had the full control over the property and became the sole administrator. After his death the chief disciple assumed the headship of the Maṭha as it is evident from an inscription where we have a list of Rewah branch of

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1. Attri Samhita 165
2. Briddha Hārita Smṛti 8, 234
   भिक्षादद्यातत्प्रयत्नेन यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम्
   यतिश्च ब्रह्मचारी च उभौभिक्षाशिनौ स्मृतौ
   शाकमूल फलाशीस्याद्वनस्थः सततं द्विजः (Ibid 8, 54)
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 262
   क्वचिद्भिक्षावृत्तिः क्वचिदपि च शाकाम्यवहृतिः, क्वचिन्मूलाहारः
4. E. I. Vol. III p. 264
5. Raj. Taranga 8, 2401
6. Ibid Taranga 6, 87–88 They were known by the name of Swami or Mathādhipati or Mahanta. Rājatarangini supplies further information that the kings made endowments, built Maṭha and donated the whole to the head of the Maṭha (Mathadisha)

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Śaiva monks who succeeded the Guru one after another[1]. The Kalachuri record mentions the mortgage of the property by a Śaiva ascetic when the area passed under the Chandela territory and the ascetic had no royal patronage.[2] This shows that the full power was exercised by the monk over the property of the gift. In due course the entire donation became the personal property of the head of that establishment who declared his disciple as the heir after his death. The various gifts to the Maṭha became the cause of luxury and vices in the case of ascetics. The main monk gathered some paraphernalia and became the chief of Maṭha and used the property of that establishment in his own way and according to his choice. The donation was endowed from the beginning of this period but probably the monk became head of the Maṭha in 11th or 12th century A. D. In medieaval India the records[3] of Parivrājaka kings are positive proof where the Sanyāsī has been called *Nṛipati* Parivragaka who may be equated with modern *Gosain*, the controller of Maṭhas in Northern India.

II Education.

In the early mediaeval period (700–1200 A. D.) *Upanayana* did not mark the beginning of education because this ceremony was not strictly followed in the society. The studentship began at the different stage. The Smṛti-writers have prescribed the different age of *Upanayana* for different castes which was performed by Brāhmaṇa at the age of 8, by Kshatriya at 11 and by Vaishya at the age of 12 years.[4] It was a period of higher study and each caste specialised in the

1. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 148
2. A. S. I. A. R. 1935–36 p. 91 (11th Cent. A. D.)
3. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 126.
4. गर्भादि संख्या वर्णानां तदष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत, अधिकेषु
राजन्यम् तस्मादेकाधिकेषु वैश्यम् (बौधायन 2; 7–9)
गर्भाष्टमे तथा कर्म ब्राह्मणस्योपनायनम्
गर्भादेकादशे सेके कुर्यात्क्षत्रिय वैश्ययोः (लघुविष्णु 1; 13–14)
ब्राह्मणस्याष्टमे वर्षे विहितं चोपनायनम् (लध्वाश्वलामन 10, 1)
गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनीयत गर्भादेकादशे राजन्यं
गर्भाद् द्वादशेषु वैश्यम् (वंशिष्ट 11, 44)

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different branch of learning. It was an important period from the point of view of education but no Brahmachāri lived in the forest like the ancient *Āśramas* or *Gurukula*. Vedic *Āśramas* disappeared and temples, Maṭhas and universities became as edacational centres. In this period of specilisation, the educational activities were greater, mangificient buildings were erected for the purpose and endowments were made for the smooth working of the whole institution. Brāhmaṇas of our period were orthodox and hence they did not mix up with Buddhists who had their own system of education and scheme for higher study.

The epigraphs of our period donot throw any light on the primary education. Probably the primary stage was finished at some Pāthaśālā attached to the temple or situated in some *Agrahāra* village. The dynastic records of this age mention gifts for advanced studies and education carried in some institutions. Though we have no direct references to the centres of Brahmanical learning such as Kāshī, Ujjaini, (the twin of Vārāṇasī) and Dhārā which had reached the climax of its cultural renown; but numerous land grants (see chapter on Dāna) to the Maṭha clearly point out the intention of the donors. Maṭhas were primarly intended for the instruction of the pupils and laity by some great teachers in the the tenets or in the doctrines of some philosophy or in some branch of learning as Mimānsa, grammar and astronomy etc. Here Maṭha does not appear to have any technical sense. In *Amarkose*, Maṭha is defined as a place where pupils reside. *Rājataraṅgiṇi*[1] supports the same view. In Kashmīr a king donated all his wealth to Maṭha where pupil were taught. It was established near some temple and a Sattra was attached to it. Temples and Maṭha have been supplementary in the period under review. King Avantivarmana of Kashmīr

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विप्री गर्भाष्टमे वर्णे क्षत्रमेकादशे तथा
द्वादशे वैश्य जातीनां व्रतोपनयन क्रिया (वेदव्यास 1, 20)
गर्भाष्टमेऽब्दे कर्तव्यं ब्राह्मणस्योपनायनम्
गर्भादेकादशे राज्ञो, गर्भास्तु द्वादशेविशः (शंखलिखित 2, 6)

1. Raj. Tarang. VI 87–88.

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appointed Rāmata Upadhyaya to the post of expounder of grammar in a temple.[1] Maṭha owed their origin to the example of Budhist monasteries situated near Chaitya which received great fillip after the great Śankarāchārya. In the narrow sense Maḥa was to accommodate Sanyāsī but in wider term it means a well established institution where teacher gave instruction to the pupils in religious and analogous tenets. Śanyāsī must have had no property, as asceties were prohibited to accept any money, but gradually the zeal and devotion of the disciples and followers of the teachers endowed the Maṭha and temple with moveable and immoveable properties.

The records of the period under review indirectly describe the various subjects learnt by the different castes, but it is difficult to say in what part of the country a particular subject was specialized.

In the Hindu society among the Brāhmaṇas themselves only the professional priest must have concentrated on the study of sacred lore. The average Brāhmaṇas who intended to take up some service, trade or agriculture would hardly have troubled himself for remembering all the Vedic Mantras and their accent. Moreover Alberuni has rightly stated that the Brāhmaṇas studying Veda pronounce it without understanding the meaning and learn by heart.

The Kshatriyas focussed their attention more to warfare and administration rather than the study of Vedic literature i. e. taking seriously to Vedic study may have been very rare. The normal Kshatriya youth; who intended to follow the hereditary profession must have devoted large part of his time in military training. For Vaiśyas the knowledge of trade and commerce was very necessary. As they have to carry merchandisc from place to place and trade in different commodities, the vaiśyas were organised in guilds and started industries or banks on demacratic lines. Therefore the study of Veda and Vedānga was limited mostly to Brāhmaṇas. They were encouraged by the benefactions and grants by the kings for the study of different branches of learning. It is obvious that kings were

1. Ibid Taranga V, 29.

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keenly interested in the spread of learning and education and they used to maintain eminent scholars and poets in their courts. These scholars composed and compiled treatise on various subjects and dedicated them to their patrons.

Study of Different Subjects.

The examination of the land grants of our peried reveals that wide curriculum was followed in the Hindu Educational system. It may be divided into

(1) Veda
(2) Vedānga
(3) Philosophy (Darśan)
(4) Itihās and
(5) Upavedas.

Besides these literary subjects people devoted time in learning of Art and architecture in the different centres of Northern India. The inscriptions further inform that probably no individual was able to master several branches of learning, but he satisfied himself by studing a single branch (śākhā) of Veda and some other subject besides that particular Vedic Śākhā. The epigraphic records indicate that the proficiency in Jyotish and Dharmaśāstra was most probably essential for government service in the judicial branch or for central administration, and hence we presume that the study of Vedānga was more popular in our period than the study of Veda. We know that the Brahmanical revival began in the centuries before Christ under the Sunga king and vigourously followed in Gupta age.[1] but it reached its climax in India during this period (700-1200 A. D.). In Brāhmanism (which was later on known as Hinduism) the knowledge of Veda was regarded as covering of the body[2] in the time of war. The Vedic sacrifices were not

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1. Damodarpur plate (E. I. Vol. XV p. 113) The objects of the purchase of the land as stated in the plates were to perform daily sacrifice and Agnihotra by the Brāhmaṇas.
2. Belva grant E. I. Vol. XII p. 39 V. 5
पुंशामावरणं त्रयी न च तया हीना न नग्ना इति
त्रयी चाद्भुत संगरेषु च वसा द्रोमोङ्गमेर्वर्म्मिणः

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many and gradually going out of vogue, still some records mention that performance of *yagya* according to Vedic rites. Chāhamāna inscription[1] speaks of sacrifice according to *Yajuraveda*. Gurajara Pratīhāra kings imposed a tax vali (*Prabandha*) as prescribed by law for increasing the Vedic merit[2]. In the latter part of Pāla age the Vedic sacrifices were performed and one such was performed in the reign of Surapāla (C. 854–857 A. D.) Though the kings were Buddhist by faith but due to their sympathetic attitude and toleration the minister Kedār Misra performed Vedic sacrifice which was attended by the king himself who received holy water with bent head[3]. We have a reference to *Abhiṣeka* in Nathati grant of Vijayāsena (C. 1097–1159 A. D.)[4] Cheedvilasa plates of Ganga king Devendra Varmana record grants to Brāhmaṇa who were eager in studing Veda and perfoming Vedic sacrifices[5]. These stray references cannot lead to a definite conclusion that the Vedic sacrifices were very popular but they probably refer to the sacrifices performed by the Brāhmaṇas in different parts of Northern India.

Vedic Study.

Most of the records of our period are donative in characcter, hence they refer to the Brāhmaṇa donees and mention their names along with particular Vedic Śākhās, which they had studied. The analysis of several epigraphs points out that particular Brāhmaṇa was distinguished from another by means of Vedic Śākhā. It is rare that a Brāhmaṇa studied Śākhās of two or three Vedas, but the records mention the particular Śākhā along with other subjects viz Vedānga and philosophy. Such reference is found in Kalha plate (distrlct

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1. E. I. Vol. IX p. 306.
2. Ibid Vol. XVIII p. 108, 112 (V. 9)
   त्रयास्पदस्य सुकृतस्य समृद्धिमिच्छर्यः क्षत्रधाम विधिवद्ध बलिप्रबंधः
3. E. I. Vol. II p. 160
4. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 156
   यस्याभिषेक विधिमंत्रपदै : आरोपिता विनयवर्तमनि जीवलोकः
5. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II p. 140.

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Gorakhapur, Uttar Pradesh) where Brāhmaṇas donees are described belonging to *Chhāndogya, Vājasaneya* or *Mādhyandina Śākhās*[1] Another inscription from Madhya Pradesa mentions donees belonging to *Āśvalāyana* and *Śaṅkhāyana Śākhās* of *Rigveda*; *Kauthuma* and *Rāṇāyanīya Śākhā* of *Sāmaveda*; as well as *Kaṭha Śākhā* of black *Yajuraveda*.[2] A third epigrapha from Mālwā describes grant to the donees of *Mādhyandin Śākhā* of white *Yajurveda*; *Āśvalāyana Śākhā* of *Ṛgveda* and *Kauthuma Śākhā* of *Sāmaveda*[3]. Daulatpur grant of king Bhoja of Kanauj mentions Brāhmaṇa of *Āśvalāyana Śākhā* of *Ṛgveda*[4] while records of Gāhaḍavāla King Govindachandra mention the grants to Brāhamaṇas of *Vājasaneya* Śākhā of *Yajurveda* and *Sānkhāyana Śākhā* of *Ṛgveda*[5].

In the grant of Jayachandra Brāhmaṇa called as Yajurveda Sakhine.[6] On the authority of Khaira plate of Kalachuri king Yasah Karṇadeva it may be stated that *Ṛgveda* was studied in central India[7] while in Rājaputānā sacrifices were performed on the system of *Yajurveda*[8].

The survey of land grants of Eastern India throw much light on this problem. In the reign of Pāla kings the Brāhmaṇa donees were studying *Ṛgveda* and *Sāma*. In Monghyr grant oi Devapāla the donee is described as the student of Āśvalāyana Śākhā of *Rigveda*[9] while Arkadeva Sharmana in the reign of Vigrahapāla was called Sāmavedina belonging to *Kauthuma* School.[10] Pālas were succeeded by Sena rulers who professed Brahmanical culture and naturally the Vedic study

1. E. I. Vol. VII p. 87.
2. E. I. Vol. IX p. 116.
3. Ibid p. 115.
4. Ibid Vol. V p. 212.
5. Ibid Vol. VIII p. 154–6.
6. E. I. Vol. IV p. 121.
7. E. I. Vol. XII p. 217.
8. Ibid Vol. XI p. 306.
9. I. A. Vol. XXI p. 255.
10. E. I. Vol. XV p. 295.

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found its better days. All the four Vedas (in its branches) were studied in the period of Sena dynasty. In Barrackpur[1] grant of Vijayasena the Brāhmaṇa has been described as Ṛgavedin (of Āśwalāyana Śākhā) but in the reign of his successors Śāma Veda drew the attention of most of the donees and they belonged to Kauthuma school. Naihati[2] grant of Ballalasena and Govindapur[3]. Tarapandihi[4] and Bhowal[5] grants of Lakshmaṇasena support the above statement. In the reign of the same king Lakshmaṇasena Kānva Śākhā[6] of *Yajurveda* and Āśvalāyana Śākhā[7] of Ṛgveda were also studied. Only two records one from Pabna (East Pakisthan) viz Madhainagar grant[8] of Lakshmaṇasena and other from Dinajapur[9] refer to the study of *Pippalada Śākhā* of *Atharvaveda* by the donees, otherwise Bangiya Sahitya Parisada copper plate of Viswarupasena[10] and Irda plate[11] of Kamboja king describe Brāhmaṇas studing Kānva Śākhā of Yajuraveda and Kauthuma Śākhā of *Sāmaveda* respectively. In Assam Maladhara the donee of king Balavarmana was a Brāhmaṇa of *Vājasaneya Śākhā* particularly *Kānva Śākhā* of *white Yajurveda*[12] It is doubtful whether a Brāhmaṇa belonging to

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1. E. I. Vol. XV p. 284.
2. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 156.
3. I. B. p. 92–8:
4. E. I. Vol. XII p. 6–10.
5. I. H. Q. Vol. III p. 89–96.
6. Anulia grant (J. A. S. B. 1900 Vol. LXIX p. 61)
7. Sundar-bana (I. B. p 168)
8. J. A. S. B. 1909 Vol. V (N. S.) p. 467.
9. Belwa plate of Mahipala I (988–1038 A. D.) E. I. Vol, XXIX p. 12.
   (पिप्पलाद शाखाध्यामिने)
10. I. H. Q. Vol. II p. 76.
11. E. I. XXII p. 150.
12. It is not out of place to mention here that the name Vājasaneya Śākhā (वाजसनेय शाखा) is a collective name for fifteen Sakha of white Yajuraveda. They may be enumerated as follows :—
    (1) काण्व (2) माध्यन्दिन (3) जावाल (4) बुधेय (5) शाकेय (6)

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Vājasaneya Śākhā studied all the fifteen Śākhās of while *Yajurveda*, because we have definite mention of Mādhyandina and Kānva Śākhās in our records, which were first two branches of Vājasaneya Śākhā. Therefore it may be suggested that by referring to Vājasaneya Śākhā.[1] the first two important Śākhās were understood. In Kalha plate the words *Vājasaneya* and *Madhyandina Yajuh* have been used probably in the sama sense.[2] In Nidhanpur plate we have a reference of 119 Brāhmaṇa donees who studied different Vedic Śākhās during 7th century A. D. in Eastern India. 56 out of 119 belonged to Vājasaneya Śākhā; 11 studied Chhāndogya Śākhā; 38 belonged to Bahabṛch Śākhā and remaining five to Taiteriya Śākhā[3]. In Orissa the case was quite different as the Neulpur grant (8th century A. D.) states that the Brāhmaṇa donees numbering one hundred were wellversed in all the four Vedas. Thus the whole discussion connotes that the different Śākhās[4] of *Ṛgveda*, *Yajura* and *Sāma* Vedas were studied in large part of northern India[5] except Eastern area (East Bengal and

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तापनीय (7) कापीस (8) पौडवहा (9) आवर्तिक (10) परमावर्त्तिक (11) पाराशरीय (12) वैनेय (13) बौधेय (14) औधेय and (15) गालव

1. I. A. Vol. XVI p. 208 : E. I. Vol. XIV p. 325 : E. I. Vol. XI p. 181 : E. I. Vol. VIII p. 156.
2. E. I. Vol. VII p. 87.
3. Ibid Vol. XIX p. 118–120,
4. E. I. Vol. XV p. 1–8. Here Bahabrch Śākhā (line 10) of Ṛgveda; Vājasaneya Śākhā (L. 15) of Yajurveda and Chhandasa (L. 20) of Sāmaveda have been mentioned. But in line 25 the following line एवं अथर्व भट्ट पुरोहित भवदेव connotes that the fourth Veda (Atharva) also studied. No Śākhā of this Veda has been given.
5. Though no reference of Śākhā of Atharva is found in the records of Madhyadesa, Centrel India, Madhya Pradesa and Rājaputānā, but the suffix of Chaturvedina to the name of Brāhmana donee (E. I. Vol. XIX p. 54), may suggest that probably Atharva (along with other three was also studied in Uttar Pradesa.) But on mere name suffix we can not arrive at a definite conclusion.

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orissa) where. *Atharva* was also studied along with other three. The following is the grouping of Śākhās mentioned above in the dynastic epigraphs—

(1) Āśvalāyana[1] (आश्वलायन) and
(2) Śānkhāyana (शाङ्खायन) (Belonging to *Ṛgveda*)
(3) Mādhyandina (माध्यन्दिन)
(4) Kāṇvs (काण्व) and
(5) Vājasaneya (वाजसनेय) (Belonging to white *Yajurveda*)
(6) Maitrayini (मैत्रायिणी)
(7) Katha (कठ) and
(8) Taitiriya (तैतिरीय) (Belonging to black Yajurveda)
(9) Kauthuma (कौथुम) and
(10) Rāṇāyanīya[2] (राणायनीय) (Belonging to *Śamaveda*)

In connection with *Śamaveda* we have some additional references of donees belonging to *Chāndogya Śākhā* of Sāmaveda[3]. In a Gāhaḍavāla grant an immigrant Brāhmaṇa has been described as conversant with Chhāndogya[4] of Śāmaveḍa and Kalha plate of Soḍhadeva contains the name of Chhāndogya Śākhā along with other Śākhās of Yajurveda.[5] This gives a fresh information that during 12th century A. D. scholars of Uttara Pradesa knew Chhāndogya Śākhā which later on became extinct or out of use. This could also be expalined that this particular name was primerly connected

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1. Though this partieular Śākhā of Ṛgveda is mentioned in the reeords of Madhya Pradesh (E. I. Vol. IX p. 116) Mālvā (Ibid), Madhyadesh (Ibid Vol. V p. 212) and Bengal (I. A. Vol. XXI p. 255) but in modern days no Brāhmana belonging to this Śākhā is found in Nortern India.
2. This Śākhā is found at present in a few selected Brāhamaṇa family in extreme South, but epigraphic evidences throw a refereshing light upon this problem that in the period under review this was current in Madhyadesha.
3. Under present classification of Śakhas of Samaveda, Chhāndogya does not find a place in the list.
4. E. I. Vol. V p. 118.
5. Ibid Vol. VII p. 87.

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with an Upaniṣada viz. *chhāndogya upaniṣada* which occupied place in the list of books that were to be studied under Kauthuma Śākhā of Sāmaveda.

The following is the list.—

(A) Saṁhita—Sāmasaṁhita
(B) Brāhmaṇa—(1) Tāṇḍaya
(2) Ṣadavinsha
(3) Sāmavidhana
(G) Upaniṣada (1) Chhāndogya
(D) Sūtra— (1) Lātyāyana
(2) Gobhila

Therefore it may be conjectured that probably by *Chhāndogya Śakhā* the *Upaniṣada* of the same name was studied in 12th century of the Christian era.

Besides these references to Vedic Śākhās, we have definite mention of only three Vedas viz *Sāmaveda*[1], *Yajuraveda*[2] and *Ṛgveda*[3] in the records of early mediaeval period. This surmise is confirmed by an inscription of Northern India where *Ṛgveda, Yajuha and Śāma* have been mentioned in the following manner[4] :—

ब्रह्मत्रिविक्रमोर्कश्च विष्णुदेवस्तथापर
तथा मिहिर देवस्य चत्वारो **वहवृचोत्तमाः**
एवं कपर्दोपाध्यायो भास्करो मधुसूदनः
वेदगर्भश्च चत्वारो **यजुर्वेदस्य** पारगाः
तथा भास्करदेवश्च स्थिरोपाध्याय एव च
त्रैलोक्यहन्सो मोड·····चत्वारः **साम**पारगाः

Atharvaveda is conspicous by its absence. This is also supported by the account of Alberuni who has enumerated the names of three Vedas—*Ṛg, Yajuha and Sāma. Ṛg and Yajuha* are connected with fire and sacrifice and *Sāma* was recited but *Atharva* was less in favour with Hindus[5]. Thus it may be

1. E. I. Vol. XV p. 192 : I. A. Vol. XIV p. 168.
2. E. I. Vol. IX p. 306.
3. Ibid Vol. IV p. 158–63 (lines 17 and 62).
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 192 : Vol XII p. 31.
5. Sachau Vol. I p. 130.

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suggested that the Brāhmaṇas probably did not feel a necessity to study *Atharvaveda* and hence most of the records mention Brāhmaṇas with surnames *Dvivedi*[1] or *Trivedi*[2] and a few with *Chaturvedi*[3].

These surnames are significant. The last surname *Chaturvedī* or Chaturvedina[4] has the similar sense as Dvivedī or Trivedī i. e. the person having a surname was probably required to study definite number of Vedas. Therefore the study of forth *Atharvaveda* can not be ruled out. Moreover the specific mention[5] in the epigraphs whould go to suggest that four Vedas were studied by a few[6] (though *Atharvaveda* was not favoured by Brāhmaṇa) *Rajatarangini* also describes a Brāhmaṇa named Nāyaka learned in four Vedas[7], who was placed in the charge of Śiva temples. Considering the entire data it may be stated that majority of Brāhmaṇas learnt only three Vedas *Ṛg, Yajuḥ and Sāma* in the Northern India[8] where as *Atharva* was seldom studied. More than 90% of the dynastic records mention Vedic Śākhā to which a Brahāmaṇa belonged. Therefore in the age of specialisation, the name suffix of the Brāhmaṇas should not be taken on the face value.

Vedānga.

The study of Vedānga was very often mentioned in the records of our period suggesting that its knowledge unabled

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1. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 10; E. I. Vol. VII p. 87.
   ठाकुर श्रीयशः प्रपौत्राय द्विवेदी श्री वील्हे
2. E. I. Vol. I. p. 311. The word Tripathī has been mentioned for त्रिवेदी. Kielhorn wrongly translated it as person knowing पाठ of Veda (E. I. Vol. IV p. 125).
3. A. S. I. A. R. 1902–3 p. 237.
4. Ibid.
5. E. I. Vol. VII p. 100 चतुर्थवेदविद्याविजित
6. चतुः श्रुति पाठकेभ्यः (E. I. Vol XIV p 195).
7. Raj. Varanga 5, 159.
8. The Vedas were called त्रयी as mentioned in Jaimini sutras 2. 1. 35–37. तेषामृग् यत्रार्थवशेन पादव्यवस्था। गीतिषु सामाख्या। शेषे यजुः शब्दः।

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Brāhmaṇas to join other posts in the government. Vedānga comprises six branches of learning viz *Śikshā, Nirukta, Chhanda, Vyākaraṇa, Kalpa* and *Jyotisha*[1] which are mentioned in the following verse of Govindapur grant. :—

सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुति प्रणयिनः शिक्षाभिरुद्भासिताः
सज्ज्योतिर्गतयो निरुक्तविशदा श्छन्दो विधौसाधवः
ख्याता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषामत्युच्चधिशीलना-
द्वेदाङ्गप्रतिमाः षडेव भुवने ते बिभ्रति भ्रातरः ।

Similar references are also found in the case of a Brāhmaṇa[2] donee who is described as well-versed in Veda and Vedānga but this seems to be the vague remark where writer was not serious about his writing. Such general statement should not be taken in a literally sense.

Further analysis of the offical documents points out that grammar was often studied among other subjects of Vedānga. From Rewa Praśasti we learn that the Brāhmaṇas residing in Banaras were well versed in Vyākaraṇa.[3] The study of this subject has been mentoned in good many records belonging to Pratīhāra[4] and Pāla dynasties.[5] Grammar was the key to every branch of learning hence we find efficient grammarian was appointed to the office of the preacher of temple in Kashamīra.[6] This is also supported by Alberuni who gave first place to *Vyākarṇa* among other subject of *Vedānga*.[7]

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1. E. I. Vol. II p. 336.
2. I. A. Vol. XVI p. 205 (वेदवेदांग पारग) Journ. Andhra Hist. R. Society Vol. II p. 149. Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena describes donee well versed in six angas of Ṛgveda (षड्ङ्गाध्यायिने आश्वलायन शाखा) E. I. Vol. XV p. 284.
3. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 296.
4. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 325.
   E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96.
5. Ibid Vol. XV p. 295.
   I. A. Vol. XIV p. 169.
6. Raj. Taranga 5, 29.
7. Sachau Vol. I. p. 130–4.

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Jyotish was one of the most popular subjects of our age (700–1200 A. D.). Among the two *siddhantas* viz Astronomy and astrology the latter dew the attention of the people.[1] Astrologer was made one of the functionaries of the state[2] and an honourable member of the royal court who had no such position in the earlier periods. In Gāhadavāla grants[3] we have a new name of an officer called *Naimitika* who could answer all the astrological questions and was often consulted for interpreting almanacs and for prognosticating future events. Thus it appears that *Naimitika* was conversant with all principles of Jyotish. Another reference of such study is found in Bhuvaneshwar inscription that the Brāhmaṇas knew *Siddhanta, Tantra, Phal saṁhita* and *Vyākha* and was promnegator of a new work on horoscopy[4]. In one of the Bengal records Damodara Sharmana is said to have mastered the five principles viz (1) *Paulisha,* (2) *Romaka,* (3) *Vaśiṣtha,* (4) *Saur* and (5) *Paitāmaha* of Jyotish.[5] In the court of Chedi knig Ratnadeva, the astronomer Padmanābha was learned scholar who asserted that the coming eclipse would be a total one.[6] *Jyotish* was gaining ground in comparision to other branches of learning and hence in Gurjara Pratīhāra regime this subject was taught to princes.[7] Alberuni has given the proper place

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1. It may be stated that many books on astrology were written in this period. Besides commentary on होराषट् पंचाशिका by Bhattotpala, two books viz. 'Ratnamāla' and 'Jātak Paddhati' (10th C. A. D.) on astrology show the popularity and interest in the subject by the people.
2. Rāj. Taranga 1, 119.
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 122–131; Vol. VII p. 90; Vol. XVIII p. 222.
4. E. I. Vol. VI p. 206. (कर्त्तास्वयं प्रथयिताच नवीन होराशास्त्रस्य).
5. Ibid Vol. VIII p. 156.
6. E. I. Vol. XXII p. 166 V. 19.
   श्री मद्रत्ननरेश्वरस्य सदसि ज्योतिर्व्विदामग्रतः
   सर्वग्रास मनुष्णगोः प्रवदत्ता तीर्ण प्रतिज्ञा नदी।
7. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 96–98.
   व्याकरणं तर्को ज्योतिः शास्त्रं कलान्वितं
   सर्वभाषा कवित्वञ्च विज्ञातं सुविलक्षणम्।

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to *Jyotish*[1] among the other subjects of Vedānga. These two subjects namely *Vyākaṛṇa* and *Jyotish* were frequently studied on account of necessity of the age. The other four remaining subjects of Vedānga viz, *kalpa nirukta, Sikshā* and *Chhanda* are not mentioned in the inscriptions, but it does not mean that Brāhmaṇas had no knowledge of these subjects. Without *Chanda* and *Sikshā* one cannot pronounce Vedic *mantras* and in the absence of *Nirukta* (etymology) it is difficult to know the meaning of Vedic hymns. Probably these subjects were not properly attended to but rather neglected because Alberuni has mentioned only *Chhanda* and further stated that Brāhmaṇas recited Veda without understanding its proper meaning.[2] As regards *Kalpa*, it can be stated on definite grounds that Brāhmaṇas knew this subject, otherwise the performance of social rituals was impossible. On the authority of dynastic epigraphs we can say that *Varṇāśrama* system was not unknown and even the kings tried to maintain this social system. People performed various *Saṁskāras* which could have been carried out only in accordance with Gṛhasutras. We know that Smṛtis were the next, step in Dharmaśāstra literature and our period was the age of Smṛti composition. Large number of Smṛtis were written between 600–900 A. D. This is also attested by Muslim traveller Alberuni who enumerated twenty Smṛtis[3] which were studied by the people in the latter half of early mediaeval period (900–1200 A. D.) The official records have not mentioned the names of the Smṛtis but they describe different *Saṁsakāras* indicating that the study of *Kalpa* (Sutra literature) was not out of vogue. In a record the names of *Yājñavalkya* and *Kātyāyana Smṛtis* have been mentioned[4] pointing out to the inclusion of Smṛtis and Sutras in the curriculum for higher study.[5]

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1. Sachau Vol. I p. 131–2.
2. Sachau Vol. I p. 130–4.
3. Sachau Vol. I. p. 130–3.
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 311.
5. The knowledge of Kalpa (Sutras) and its study gave impetus to the writers and large number of commentaries were written

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The study of Philosophy.

The next important subject for study was logic and philosophy which is mentioned by Alberuni by a single name. Ṣadadarśana[1]. This comprises Nyāya, Mīmānsā, Vedānta, Sānkhya, Yoga and Vaiśeṣika. Though the common word Ṣadadarśam connotes all these six systems of philosophy but official records of our period often mention separate names but not Ṣadadarśana[2]. Rewa plate speaks of Banaras Brāhmaṇas well versed in Mīmānsā, Vedānta and Yogadarśana[3] whereas Bangarh grant of Pratīhāra family mentions[4] Mimānsa and Nyāya. In the Pāla records we have similar reference to Mīmānsā and Nyāya[5]. In Monghyr grant of Nārāyaṇapāla it has been described that the minister knew *Brahma* which is difficult to understand even by Vedānta[6]. This shows that Nyāya, Mīmānasa and Vedānta were somehow popular among six system of Hindu philosophy during the period under review. The history of Indian philosophy also supports the above view and we find that large number of works and commentaries were written on Nyāya, Mīmānsā and Vedānta in comparision with other three systems of Indian philosodhy[7]. The study

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in our age. Among the names of several learned scholars on the subject Medhatithi. Govindarāja, Vijyāncswar and Jimutavāhana may be enumerated who wrote standard nibandhas on Smṛti texts.

1. Sachau Vol. I. p. 130–4.
2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 311 षड्दर्शन is mentioned along with other Purāṇa and Smṛtis in this Chāhamāna record.
3. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 296.
4. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 325.
5. E. I. Vol. XV p. 295; I. A. Vol, XIV p. 168; I. A. Vol. XXI p. 168; I. A. Vol. XXI p. 97; E. I. Vol. XIV p. 325 (मीमांसा व्याकरण तर्कविद्याविदं)
6. I. A. Vol. XV p. 307.
   वेरान्द्वैराम हुगमतम वेदिता ब्रह्मतार्थ
   य सर्व्वासु श्रुतिषु परमः सार्द्धभङ्गरधीतो
7. It was in the fitness of the occasion that large number of writers on Nyāya composed their works to criticise the view points of

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of philosophy pre-supposes a study of logic during this period, The young scholar in philosophy however was expected not only to study and expound his own system but also to attack and refute the philosophical views of his opponents. The study in this period indicates that the course included a comparative study of Hindu Metaphysics and Buddhist systems. In a famous centre situated in Vindhya mountain presided over by Diwākara Mitra (a Brāhmaṇa convert to Buddhism) students of Hinduism, Buddhism, Svetāmbhar and Digambar sects of Jainism studied together side by side under one principal (Harsh charita ucchhvasa VIII). Thus it is clear that students of orthodox and Heterodox systems of religion and philosophy read under Diwakar Mitra to listen to the exposition of their respective systems and to enter into discussion with the opponents. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang has given the similar idea[1] regardicg the exposition of obscure metaphysical passages. His Indian teacher had remarkable ability in explaining the doubtful points and reciting sacred texts.

History

The records of early mediaeval period donot throw light on the study of historical literature except the words Itihāsa. Purāṇa, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata (Mahābhārata)* which have been mentioned in the Chāhamāna epigraph of 12th century A. D.[2]

Buddhist philosophy. Vāchaspati Misra (9th C. A. D.) of Mithila was the greatest exponent of Nyāya school. (B. Upadhyaya. Indian Philosophy in Hindi p. 234). In Mimānsa the age of Kumārila (600–900 A. D,) was the golden period of this school of philosophy. Kumārila and his disciples made this subject popular by writing commentaries and Nibandhas and also criticised the Buddhistic logic. Vedānta was the head ornament of all philosophies. Śankar and Gaudapāda (800 A. D.) were the greatest figures among the scholars of this school who flourished in our period (Das Gupta–History of Indian Philosophy Vol. I p. 523 ff).

1. Beal—Life p. 76 and 154.
2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 311.

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The last word is also found in a Bengal record where Pāla king gave grant to a donee for reading Mahābhārata before his queen[1]. Alberuni has included 18 Purāṇas among the subjects that were studied during 11th century A. D. in Northern India[2]. It appears that these must have been popular subjects with common people. Such kind of literature grew in our period and we know Somadeva and Kalhaṇa who composed *Kathāsaritasāgar* and the famoas *Rājatarangiṇi*, respectively.

Upaveda.

The study of Upaveda includes (A) Archery (Dhanurveda) (B) Music (Gāndharvaveda) and (C.) Medicine (Āyurveda). Though the dynastic records rarely mention the names of above subjects yet on the evidence of other archaeological data it may be stated that people knew these subjects. Dhanuraveda[3] was essential for the Kshatriya class who were engaged in the warfare and in defence of the mother land against the foreign attacks. Every section of the society had love for music and probably Vocal, instrumental and dance all the three were learnt in the period under review. *Sāmaveda* is taken as the original source of vocal music and those studying Sāma must have some interest in it. The sculptures on the temple walls of Bhuvaneśwar and Khajurāho depict the play on musical instruments and the scene of dance by girls. The provision of dancing halls (Nata Maṇḍapa) and dancing girls in association with temple points out the popularity of music in those days.

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1. J, A. S. B. Vol. 69 p. 67.
2. Sachau Vol. I p. 130–4.
3. The archer type of coins were current in post–Gupta period in Bengal. The images of early mediaeval period have also this attribute. The Ālingana Mūrti of Śiva shows bow and arrow in the hands (Icong. in Ducca Museum p. 130) while in the images of Sun we find two female archers on either side (Ibid pl. LVIII, LX and LXI) stringing the bow. In the ten-armed figure of Mahiṣā–surmardinī Durgā bow and arrow are very prominent (Ibid pl. LXV and LXVI).

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The training in the medical profession was fairly efficient in India and the Indians were famous for medical skill not in India but beyound the geographical border of the country. They were in great demand in Mesopatamia and Arabia for training of physians there. We know that Indian doctors were invited by Khalifa Haruna to Bagadada and appointed by him as the chief medical officers of the state hospitals[1]. Indian rulers also highly respected the medical men and gave them the place of honour. In Gāhaḍavāla records the medical man (called Bhiṣaga)[2] has been mentioned as the officer of the state and the same officer is designated *Vaidya*[3] in the grant of Chandela king Paramardi. Even at the educational centres the proper arrangement of medicine was made for students which was done from the income of the endowments[4]. The similar reference is found in the grant of Nārāyaṇapāla[5] in which the provision of seat and medicine have been mentioned for the congregation of Pāśupata teachers of the Maṭha. Yuwang Chwang has mentioned that the Brāhmaṇa knew the science of medicine[6] (*Āyurveda*) but the contraty statement is found in Smṛti and this profession was condemned for Brāhmaṇas[7] (though it was a philonthropic work.) Probably the study of *Āyurveda* was limited to Vaiśya class as mentioned in Mitākshara on *Yājñavalkya* (2, 184). It was a course of stydy for four years[8]. The history of *Āyurveda* points out that many writers wrote books of medicine. Even women

1. S. K. Nadavi–Arab aur Bharat ka Sambandha p. 103–23.
2. E. I. Vol. IV (Kamauli grants); Vol. VII p. 99; Vol. XVIII p. 222.
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 170.
4. Nalanda plate of Devapāla (E. I. Vol. XVII p. 322)
   भिक्षु संघस्य वलिचरूसत्रचीवर भेषज्माद्यर्थं
5. I. A. Vol. XV p. 300.
   भैषज्य परिष्काराद्यर्थं
6. Watters Vol. I p. 159,
7. Attri Samhita 387.
   आविकश्चित्रकारश्च वैद्यो नक्षत्रपाठकः
   चतुर्विप्रा न पूज्यन्ते बृहस्पतिसमा यदि ।
8. अन्तेवासी गुरोगृहे कृतकालं वर्ष चतुष्टयमायुर्वेद शिल्प शिक्षार्थं त्वदगृहे वसामीति

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were attracted by medical studies and a treatise was written on this subject by a lady named Rusa. Her work was translated into Arabic in 8th century A. D. at the request of the Khalifa Haruna[1]. Among other works *Mādhava-Nidāna* is a very famous book written in 9th century A. D. Chakrapāṇi wrote commentaries on Charaka and Śuśruta. *Chikitsā-Sāra-Sangraha* and *Chikitsāmṛita* were composed in 12th century of the Christian era. Thus we conclude that high standard of the study of *Āyurveda*[2] was achieved in our period.

Sahitya

(Study of Sanskṛit Literature.)

Besides the different subjects mentioned above, people studied Sanskṛit literature also, which is apparent from the literary activities of this period (700–1200 A. D.). The history of Sanskṛit literature makes this point more clear. We known that vast number of works were composed and written by good many scholars of the period under review and no section of Sanskṛit literature was left untouched. Among the learned scholars the names of Rājaśekhar, Bhāmah., Ānanda Vardhan, Ratnākar, Śri Harsha, Kalhaṇa, Bhavabhūti and jayadeva may be enumerated who wrote works on different topics. It is a tragedy that the epigraphs of different dynasties are silent and do not mention the study of the Sanskrit literature, but the very compostion of the documents in Kavya style indicates that people studied different branches of literature. Perhaps in the donative grants, there was no place for recording the works of different Sanskrit scholars. What have been mentioned is only in connection with the qualifications of the donees as the pātra (receipient) ought to be a meritorious person. But the negative aspect of the reeords cannot be taken as the true representation of the facts and figures. More over the patronage of the kings was the definite step in the growth of Sāhitya. The writers mentioned above were living in the court of the rulers who gave initiative and great encourage-

1. Arab aur Bharata ka Sambandh p. 122.
2. Several books were written in our period on Vetenary science also.

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ment to compose the treatise on original works[1]. We may, therefore, conclude that these subjects were studied in the Pāṭhaśālās or in some educational centres as is the case to this day.

Crafts

The third caste Vaiśya was engaged in trade, working in the form of Śreni[2]. The teaching of crafts in the house-hold institutions has been carried in India from old times and Śreni of various professions were organised.[3] Smriti writers of this period describe craft as working in gold, base metal, wood, stone and leather (Brihatayama XIII, 33) Guilds were free to work in what way they liked (Ibid XVII, 18). In Amarkosha (II, 10) Potters, weavers, painters, leather workers blacksmith and shell cutter have been described as organised guilds free from state control. It may be suggested that craft Śreni followed four main kinds of art viz (1) architecture (2) sculpture (3) casting and (4) engraving. They worked on stone and metal for image and coin making. Large number of temples were erected by stone cutters and the famous artitects Chandaśiva[4] and three sons of Grahabhata[5] were efficient

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1. Rājaśekhar was in the court of Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla and Ānanda Vardhana had Avanti Varma of Kashmīr as his patron. Similar was the case of Śri Harsh (a scholar of Jayachandra's court) and Bhavabhūti whose patron king was Yasovarma of Kanauj. Jayadeva was the court poet of Lakshmanasena of Bengal.
2. E. I. Vol. I. p. 160 and p. 174.
3. Yājñavalkya (2, 184) and Nārada (5; 16, 17 and 20,) mention the study of crafts in the house of the teacher.
4. Harsh stone inscription dated V. S. 1030 (E. I. Vol. II p. 123)
   वीरभद्रसुतः ख्याता सूत्रधारीत्र चंडसिव
   विश्वकर्म्मेव सर्व्वज्ञो वास्तुविद्याम……
   ेन निर्म्मितमिंद मनोहर शंकरस्य भवन समण्डपम्
5. Nagar inscription of Dhanika (7th C. A. D.) Bharata-Kaumudi pt. I p. 276.
   श्री भिल्लमाल सूत्रधार गृहभट्टोत्पन्न सूर्यवर्म ग्रहवर्म गंगावर्म्मभि सूत्रधारत्व कुशलै रूवृकर्म निपुणैर्व्वास्तु विद्यापारगैः……करिता।

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in work of Sutradhāra and were profound artists of Rājaputānā. Chandaśiva constructed the excellent temple of Śiva while the sons of Grahabhāta were in the charge of the execution of stepwell. The stone was also chistelled into beatiful images during the period under review. This kind of art was followed throughout northern India from Rājaputānā to Bengal. The images were not prepared by amateur artists under inspiration for self satisfaction but by a class of professional artists whose production found ready sale among the public.

The third important type of art was bronze casting. The names of Dhimāna and Vitapāla may be mentioned in this conneetion and they were expert in melting and making of metallic images. The specimens of this type of art and images of Nalandā and Kurkihāra[1] (Gaya district) preserved in the Patna Museum point out the developed stage of casting of icons. The examination of Bronze images reveals that artists adopted the method called ' Wax-melting process" for casting them. This bronze casting was a technical process known to Bihar artists in the northern India. Some bronzes are gold plated: It is wonder how in those days (8th century A. D.) fine plating thinner than egg-shell could be made. In one of the record from Uttar Pradesa the artist Mādhava has been described as maker of images of god Ghandra Mādhava, which excelled others[2].

The engraving of alphabets on the metal plates and on the pedestal of images was also the work of art in this period. The majority of royal records were engraved on the copper plates by the artists (smith) and handed over to the Brāhmaṇa donees. In a Bengal inscription[3] one Someswar-the Magadha

1. All Kurkihara images bear inscriptions of 8th and 9th centuries A. D. (proeeed. of 7th Oriental Conference p. 798).
2. Chandravati plate (E. I. XIV p. 199),
   उत्कीर्णं माधवेनेदं श्री गंगाधर सूनुना
   श्री चन्द्रमाधवो येन घटितोन्य हसंन्निव
3. Silimpur inscription (V, 29) E. I. Vol. XIII p. 42.
   शिल्पविन मागधः कामी तन्मना वर्णभक्तिभिः
   सोमेश्वरो लिखदिमाम्प्रशस्ति स्वामिव प्रियाम्

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artist has been described in a beautiful verse who incised the praśasti by means of division of letters. Similar information is gathered from the record of Mahīpāla where the name of artist occures at the end of the record[1]. Other records speaks of artists named Pālhana[2] and Nāgavarma[3] who engraved the Praśastis on the plates. Such references can be multiplied pointing out the engraving of copper plates by artists, who must have good practice in this art[4].

Buddhist System

The Buddhist system of education has assumed special importance during this age (700–1200 A. D.) though we have no definite mention to this effect in the inscriptions of this period. The information regarding the Buddhist system can be gathered from two records viz(1) Sarnath[5] inscription of Kumāradevī, the wife of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govinda Chandra and (2) Nālandā plate[6] of the Pāla ruler Devapāla and the description by Yuwan Chwang and his biographer. The latter two are the main sources of information regarding Nālandā in addition to the excavation that was carried there. The Buddhist system may be divided in two parts. Firstly the education for laymen and secondly the courses for

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1. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 428.
   इयं शासनं उत्कीर्णं श्री महीधर शिल्पिना
2. E. I. Vol. XX p. 131.
   रजपालस्य पुत्रेण पाल्हणेन चशिल्पिना
   उत्कीर्णा वर्णघटना वैदग्धी विश्वकर्मणा
3. The Nagar inscription of Bhanika.
   यशोवर्म्म सुतेनेयं साधुना नाग वर्मणा
   रम्या प्रशस्तिरूत्कीर्णा कलाकौशल शालिना
4. E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 263. (उत्कीर्णा प्रचुररसा प्रशस्तिरियमक्षरै रुचिरैः)
   Ibid Vol. I p. 81.
   (उत्कीर्णा सोमनाथेन टङ्कविज्ञान शालिना)
   लिपिज्ञान विधिज्ञेन, प्राज्ञेन गुणशालिना
   सिंहेनेय समुत्कीर्णा, सद्वर्णा रूप शालिना
   (E. I. Vol. I p. 147)
5. E. I. Vol. IX p. 321.
6. Ibid Vol. XVII p. 310.

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monks. The laymen's courses were not radically different from those carried in the Hindu institutions where students started their education with a study of Sanskrit grammar and literature. As pious Buddhist the laymen were also given some grounding in Pāli and the Sanskrit was the chief medium for the study of Mahāyāna texts. If they wanted to specialise in logic or philosophy they used to select books from the Buddhist scriptures and the works of the famous Mahāyāna scholars. This was the period (700–980 A. D.) when famous Buddhist writers fourished and they wrote systematic works on logic in order to refute the theories of the Brāhmaṇas[1].

The curricula for the monks was different and it did not include the study of secular sciences. They had to make a thorough study of the Buddhist religion, philosophy and sacred texts after proper mastering the Pali and Sanskrit. Hindu religion and philosophy were then carefully studied which has been described by Beal[2] as the Hindu subjects studied at the Nālandā University along with "Miscellaneous works".

The higher and specialised study was carried out at Nālanda which was a crest–jewel of the educational institutions and a very famous centre of learning in Asia[3]. The excavation of the area has revealed that Nālandā University had covered a very vast area to which monastic buildings and stupas were attached, The central college had several halls and lecture rooms sufficient for a population of 5,000 monks. The Nāland plate[4] of king Yasovarmana describes in following verse

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1. Vidyābhusana—History of Med. school of Indian logic p. 78 and 121–136.
2. Beal Vol. II pp. 170, 171.
3. Besides Nālandā another University was also founded at Virkrama sila by the Pāla king Dharmapāla in the close of 8th century A. D. During 1034–1038 A. D. Dipankara was at its head. We have no reference to this university in the Pāla records but Tibetan Tangyur mentions the name.
4. E. I. Vol. XX p. 43 (V. 4–6).

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that Nālandā had scholars welknown for their knowledge in the sacred texts:—

नालंदा हंसतीव सर्व्वनगरी: शुभ्राभ गौरस्फुर
च्चैत्यांशु प्रकरोस्सदागम कला विख्यात विद्वज्जना।

Thus it is clear that Nālandā was famous for its scholars and it continued to be a famous centre of learning during the period. In ninth century the institution continued to enjoy international reputation. Bālputradeva, a king of Java and Sumātrā built a monastery there and requested his friend Pāla king Devapāla to donate five villages to this Vihāra for its upkeep[1].

Nālandā was meant for advanced students only and the candidates for admission had to pass a severe preliminary tests. Hiuen Tsang says that the teacher and the students were men of highest ability and talent, and their fame spread out through distant regions. The reputation attracted the Buddhist monks from abroad among whom chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang studied at Nālandā for several years. It was here that endowments were made for the eat, medicine and other necssity of the students[2]. Alms-house (Sattra) was also attached to the institutions for supplying food to tne alumni.

Language and Script

The discussion of educational problems cannot be concluded without the brtef consideration of language and script of this period. The period under review was the golden age of Sanskrit literature aad books on almost every subject (Art or Science) were composed by the scholars in the Sanskrit

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1. Ibid Vol. XVII p. 322–24.
नालंदा गुणावृदं लुब्ध मनसा भक्तया च शोद्धोदने:
× × ×
नानासद्गुण भिक्षुसंघवसतिस्तस्यां विहार: कृत:
सुवर्ण द्वीपाधिप महाराज बालपुत्रदेवेन दूतक मुखेन वयं विज्ञापिता:
यथा मया नालंदाया विहार: कारित:

2. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 322. The same idea in line 13 (E. I. Vol. XX p. 44).
भिक्षु संघस्य वलिचरुसत्र चीवर पिण्ड पात शयना—भेषजादि

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language. It was this language which was used in writing the records and grants of different dynasties of northern India. Without exception hundreds of dynastic epigraphs are in Sanskṛit language which pre-supposes the advance study of sanskṛit and its popularity in the masses.

As regards the script three distinct types of scripts were used by the scribes (1) Kutila, (2) Nāgarī and (3) Bangalā. The only record of Viṣṇugupta was written in a script known as Kutila–a post–Gupta script of Northern class of Indian alphabet[1]. Kamauli grants of Gāhaḍavāla king Govindchandradeva; records of Chandela and Pratihāra kings were written in Nāgarī characters[2]. Dr. R. C. Majumadara has opined that in Northern and Western India during 9th century A. D. Nāgarī script was quite prevalent[3]. Even Pāla rulers of Bengal used the Nāgarī script in Nālandā records[4]. This script has become most popular and hence the coin–legends[5] of early mediaeval Rājpūta kings were engraved in the Nāgarī script. That Nāgarī is the proto–script of modern Nāgarī alphabets. After 11th century A. D. a sister script of Nāgarī developed in Eastern India and it was named Bangala[6]. The record of Mahipāla dated 9th year has been written in Bengali script of 12th century A. D.[7] Scholars took it as proto–Bengali while Devapārā Praśasti[8] of Vijayasena has full developed Bengali script. The same is the case of Barrackpur grant of this ruler where we have Bengali alphabets of 11th and 12th centuries A. D. Hence it may be concluded that in early mediaeval period Nāgarī and Bengali scripts were current in northern India. The former was used in the wider area than the latter[9].

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1. E. I. Vol. XXVI (Mangaraon inscription).
   E. I. Vol. I p. 81.
   लिखिता गोडेन कराणकेणैषा कुटिला क्षराणि
   Probably this points out the script written by Kāyastha.
2. All the records published in Epigraphia Indica and other research journals.
3. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 100.
4. Ibid Vol. XVII p. 310.
5. C. M. I. plates VIII & IX
6. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 189.
7. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 325.
8. Ibid Vol. I p. 305–15.
9. Ibid Vol. XV p. 278–86.

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CHAPTER IV

Social Institution

The general survey of the documents of different dynasties ruling between 700–1200 A. D. (Northern India) points out that they have little to speak about the social *Saṁskāras* and other allied institutions of our period. Those records can broadly be divided into two clasees (a) Eulogistic (dealing with praise of the monarch) and (b) donative. The largest number of early mediaeval grants belong to latter class. The distribution of charity was regarded essential for kings in ancient India; hence rulers vied with one another in giving donations and recording them mostly on copper plates. Those gifts were given on the auspicious occassions to enhance the glory and merits of the self and of the forefathers. In such documents it is improbable to gain knowledge with regards to the Hindu social rites and institutions. The *Saṁskāras* cover the full span of life of an individual and it is some thing more than the ordinary purification of the body, The spiritual purpose cannot be given an open demonstrntion. There is a great divergence of views among the writers of the Smṛtis as to the number of *Saṁskāras*. Vedavyāsa enumerates sixteen *Saṁskāras* from *Garbhādhāna* to *Antyeṣṭhi*[1]. On the authority of early mediaeval inscriptions it may be stated that probably four *Saṁskāras* were hold in higher section of the society. Those references are found in connection with grants and their study gives four names (1) Jātakarma (birth ceremony) (2) Nāmakaraṇa (Naming ceremony) (3) Vivāha (marriage) and (4) Śrāddha (funeral ceremony). Out of sixteen we

1. गर्भाधान प्रसवनं सीमन्तो जातकर्म च
नाम क्रिया निष्क्रमोऽन्नप्राशनं वपनक्रिया
कर्णवेधो व्रतादेशो वेदारम्भ क्रियाविधिः
केशान्त स्नानमुद्वाहो विवाहाग्नि परिग्रहः
त्रेताग्नि संग्रहश्चेति संस्काराः षोषऽशस्मृताः

(Vedavyās 1; 14–15.)

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have only these four mentioned in the epigraphs. Hence dynastic records are poor in this respect.

The particular Saṁskāra viz. Jātakarma has been mentioned only as an occasion for gifts by the king Jayachandra i. e. on the occasion of the birth of his prince Harischandra, Gāhaḍavāla ruler donated a village to Brāhmaṇas[1]. The date of birth mentioned there in is 8th day of black half of Bhādrapada V. S. 1232. Most probably this ceremony incurred great expenses and the king besides generous gifts imposed a kind of temporary tax called "Kumāragadiāṇaka".[2] There was no idea of permanency as this name occures only six times in the list of taxes mentioned in the grants of Gāhaḍavāla kings.[3] The view of Prof. Mirashi appears more plausible,[4] that the term should be taken in sense of 'presents' on the festive occasion (i. e. birth of the prince) by the subjects. Therefore it appears that *Jātakarma* ceremony was performed with proper grandour.

The second *Saṁskāra* was *Nāmakaraṇa* which was performed by almost all persons in the society. In one of the grants of Jayachandra it has been stated that Gāhaḍavāla king donatted on the occasion of naming ceremony of the newly born prince (named Harishchandra). The date mentioned in the record is 13th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada month V. Ś. 1232[5]. Thus it shows that the naming ceremony was performed after 19 days of the birth of the prince (8th day, black half, Bhādrapada, V. S. 1232). The date mentioned in the epigraph does not specify whether the 8th day of black half of Bhādrapada (V-S. 1232)[6] was the actual date of the recording grant or donation, even then we presume that the

1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 126–8.
2. Ibid p. 122 (Kamanli Plate of jaya chandra)
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 120. The word is also mentioned as Kumāragadyānaka in other inscriptions of the family, (E. I. Vol. IX p. 302; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 17)
4. J. N. S. I. Vol. VII p, 31.
5. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 129–34.
6. E. I. Vol. IV p. 126–28.

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gift was announced (as is the general practice of the donors) on such particular day which might be recorded later on. Therefore that date (Bhādrapada Sukla 8) can not be taken as the day of recording document but the date of Jātakarma (when the gift was announced). This study points out that the naming ceremony was performed after 19th day from the birth of the prince. The Smṛti writers are not unanemous on this subject of interval between Jātakarma and Nāma-Karaṇa Saṁskāras yet the inscriptional evidence is definite and it was in consonance with Smṛti law[1] sanctioned for Dvija.

Regarding the other two Saṁskāras–marriage and funeral ceremony the dynastic records are poor and they donot contain direct reference to the forms of these ceremonies. As regards the marriage it was mostly confined within the same sub-castes during this period.[2] The last Saṁskāra mentioned in the inscriptions was known as Śrāddha. It was also desired earlier but Antyeṣṭi was the last secrament in the life of Hindus and at his departure from this world his survivours offer him a number of offerings for his future felicity in the next world. Banaras plate of Kalachuri Karṇadeva describes that Karṇadeva performed the Śrāddha of his father Gāngayadeva[3] but the records of other dynasties mention annual

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1. द्वादशाहे दशाहे वा जन्मतोऽपि त्रमोदशे
षोड़शेकोनविशे वा द्वात्रिशे वर्णतः क्रमात्
(Brihaspati quoted in V. M. S. Vol. I p. 234). This makes clear that Kshatriya could perform nāmakarana after 16 or 19 days of the birth as was done by Jayachandra. According to other Dharmaśāstsa writers it should be held after 10, 100 days or one full year.
जननाद्दशरात्रे व्युटे शतरात्रे समवत्सरे वा नामधेय करणम (Gobhila G. S. 2. 7. 15). Yaj. (1, 12) and Laghu Aswalāyana (6, 1) prescribe 11 days after the birth (अहन्येकादशे कुर्यान्नामकर्म विधानतः) Vedavyāsa also (1. 18) supports the above period of 11 days as interval between Jātakarma and Nāmakarna.
2. Watter Vol. I p. 168 Sachau II p, 155–6
3. E. I. Vol. II p. 310.
समग्र श्रद्धया श्राद्ध विधाय

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Śrāddha function[1] of the parents performed by the kings. That type of annual Śrāddha was not the same as Antyeṣṭhi Saṁskāra and the former was performed every year on the 15th day of black half of Āświna month[3]. These casual references of Saṁskāras in the epigraphs can not give a vivid picture of the Saṁskāras performed in the Hindu society and the archaeological data are poor in this respect.

Disposal of dead

The cremation was the common practice among the Hindu society and most recognised mode of disposal of corpse. The very description that female of a dead person burnt herself on funeral pile is a positive proof that cremation was one of the method of the disposal of deads[3]. The Khalimpur grant of Pāla king Dharmapāla contains a similar idea. The village Pālitaka was granted whose southern boundary extended to an island. This was the buring ground for the villages–Pālitaka and other villages situated in the north, west and east[4].

If we consider the topography of the area we find that Vyāghratati Mandal of Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti lay in the delta of Bhāgīrathī (near Sundara bana) and that island was in the vicinity of the villages mentioned in the grant. Therefore people of those villages may have decided to have the burning ground of the dead bodies in the island though an outside place but in pale of holy region.

Institution of Marriage

Among social institutions marriage was most important Saṁskāra and the rules relating to marriage, formulated in the older Smṛtis were not materially altered during this period, but there was a growing tendency to lower the marriageable age of

1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 105 & 128.
   सम्वत्सरिक पार्वणिश्राद्ध
2. It will be discussed in detail in the next section.
3. Elliot, Hist. I p. 6.
4. E. I. Vol. IV p. 249,
   पालितके सीमा दक्षिणेन काणा द्वीपिका, पूर्व्वेण कोण्टिया स्रोत : उत्तरेण गङ्गुनिका पश्चिमेन जेनन्दायिका । एतद् ग्राम सम्पारीण परकर्मकृद्वीपः ।

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girls. It appears from the statement of Hiuen Tsang that the marriage within the same caste was preferred.[1] Though we have eight forms of marriages mentioned in the earlier Smṛtis but the later Smṛti writers seem to have overlooked the importance of this aspect of Saṁskāra or did not recognise the eight modes of marriage.

Most of the later Smṛti writers describe two forms of marriage[2]–(1) Anuloma and (2) Pratiloma. Anuloma was sanctioned in the sense of higher caste male marrying the girl of the lower caste[3]. The child of anuloma was of mother caste. Apart from this, Smṛti writers have given different names of the offsprings from Pratiloma form of marriage. For instance if Brāhmaṇa girl is married to Śūdra, the progemy would be called Chāṇḍāla[4]. We can not imagine that in tabooed society where Brāhmaṇa themselves have divided into Pañch-Gauda, Pratiloma form of marriage was a desired thing. Daksha did not encourage even polygamy[5].

The epigraphic records of the period under review are silent on this subject, hence nothing definite can be stated on the authority of the royal documents and the details of this (marriage) Saṁskāra is lacking,

The examination of the *Vaivāhika* images of Bengal (representing the marriage scene of Śiva and Pārvati) shows that

1. Watters Vol. I p. 168.
2. अतः पर प्रवक्षयामि जातिवृत्ति विधानकम्
   अनुलोभ विधानं च प्रतिलोभ विधि तथा (औशनस।)
   Same is with Vasistha 18; 1–6.
3. Yaj. 1; 57 : Baudhyana Smrti 8; 2–5.
   In 7th century A. D. we have reference to Anuloma marriage in Harsha Charita (Uchchhvas I) and Tippera, inscription of Lokanāth where the issues were named Pārasava (E. I. Vol. XV p. 305). In that family Brāhmana rose to the dignity of Mahāsāmanta (Ibid) which shows that it was not seriously condemned.
4. Ausanasa 8 (ब्राह्मण्या शूद्र संसर्गात् चाण्डाल उच्यते)
   Vedavyās 1; 9 (ब्राह्मण्यां शूद्र जनित चाण्डालो धर्मवर्जितः)
5. Daksha Smrti 5, 14.

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the method of the marriage performed in the society was in accordance with Dharmaśāstra. In one image Pārvati is standing infront of Śiva and that pose is adopted in Hindu marriage preperatory to *Saptapadi*. In this observance bridegroom stands behind the bride and leads her ahead seven steps.[1] The parties become husband and wife at the end of *Saptapadi*.[2] In the second image we find the depiction of *Pānigrahaṇa* (i. e. marriage where śiva is holding the hand of pārvati.) Thus the sculptures[3] reflect the social Saṁskāra of the period under review.

The inscriptions of the early mediaeval period have copious references[4] of the matrimonial alliances between the ruling families of the northern India and in some records the three words (A) Bhārya[5] (B) Grihiṇi[6] and (C) Patni[7] have been used for wife.

Age of Girl's Marriage.

The marriageable age for both sexes has varied considerably, from age to age and also from caste to caste. As regards men there is no special rule as to the age before which a man was

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1. Iconography in Daccā Museum Pl. XLVIII (a) : Pāla and Sena sculpture fig. 41.
2. Manu VIII. 227.
   पाणिग्रहणिका मंत्रा नियतं दारलक्षणम्
   तेषां निष्टा तुविज्ञेया विद्वद्भिः सप्तमे पदे ।
3. Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. XLVIII (b)
   Med. Ind. Sculpture Pl. XVIII.
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 216 : Vol. II p. 12 : Vol. IV p. 247 : Vol. XVIII p. 304 : Vol. XXI p. 43 : I. A. Vol. XV p. 308; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 215; E. I. Vol. IX p. 319-28 : and E. I. Vol. I p. 264.
5. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 54 दे भार्ये and E. I. Vol. I. p. 200 भार्या सत्कुल सम्भवा ।
6. E. I. Vol. XII p. 205 सार्ध शतेन गृहिणी
7. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 95 विप्रः श्री हरिश्चन्द्राख्यः पत्नी भद्रा च क्षत्रिया
   In Vedavyās (2; 12) we find the use of the word सहचारिणी for the wife of the same Varṇa (नाना वर्णासु भर्यासु सवर्णा सहचारिणी)

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obliged to marry. Generally 12 years was devoted to Brahmacharya to complete the Vedic studies in ancient India and *Upanayana* was performed at the age of 8 (in the case of Brāhmaṇas) hence a youth would be ordinarily 20 at the time of his marriage. The age for marriage of girls has been the most debatable subject for the Smṛti writers of early mediaeval period. We are in the dark regarding this subject and this topic has not been referred to in the dynastic records as most of them are donative in their character. Dharmaśāstra writers delcare that the father or guardian incur the sin of destroying the embryo at the appearance of menses of girls[1] and they go to hell as long she is unmarried[2]. The study of this problem shows that after 100 A. D. society definitely decided in the favour of pre-puberty marriage. At this stages the *Upanayana* of girls was discontinued and after second century A. D. Pre-puberty marriage became the order of the day. Yājñavalkya (1, 13) describes the sin on parents by destraying the embyo in the case of late marriage; hence yama went a step further and recommended marriage even with an unsuitable person. Smṛti writers (500–1000 A. D.) began to encourage pre-puberty marriage at the age of 10 or 8 years[3].

On account of this religious sentiment the early age of girl for marriage was recommended by Smṛti writers in the period under review. They began to encourage marriages much before the time of puberty. It should not be posponed beyond

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1. Baudhayan Dh. S. (IV, 1. 12); Yaj. 1, 64; Angiras 125–125
   पितृर्वेश्मनी या कन्या रजस्तु समुपस्पृशेत् ।
   भ्रूणहत्या पितुस्तस्या सा कन्या वृषली स्मृताः ॥
   Laghu Satatapa 65, Sankha 15, 8 (similar idea)
2. माता च पिता चैव ज्येष्ठभ्राता तथैव च
   त्रयस्ते नरकं यान्ति दृष्ट्वा कन्या रजस्वलाम् ।
   (Angirasa 127.)
3. प्राप्ते तु दशमे वर्षे यस्तु कन्या न यच्छति ।
   मासि मासि रज तस्याः पिता पिबति शोणितम्
   (बृहत्यम ३, २१–२२)
   She was called Gauri fit for marriage.
   (अष्ट वर्षे भवेत गौरी)

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the age of ten.[1] 8 became the probable age for marriag as the girl was *Gauri* and fit to be married. The pre-puberty marriage was also observed by Alberuni who has stated that the Hindus arranged the marriage of their sons at a very early date.[2] We may conclude that the pre-puberty marriage of girls was the order of the day at least among the Brāhmaṇa who were guided by Smṛti laws, but it was not the general rule for all.[3] One instance of post-puberty marriage among the ruling families may be cited and that was the marriage of Samyogita with the famous Chāhamāna king Pṛthviraja.

Inter-Caste Marriage.

The attitude of our age towards the question of inter-caste marriage was not encouraging. The Anuloma form of marriage was sanctioned as legal by most of the Smṛtis. It was once common in Hindu society and detail provisions are given as to the right and privileges of the children born of intercaste *Anuloma* marriage.[4] These intercaste union could not have been numerous as the marriage was prohibited within certain degree of relationship, and the marriage within the same caste was preferred.[5] Historical example can be cited to show that intercaste marriages rendered caste system flexible to some extent. The father of Bāṇa had married a Śūdra lady

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1. Brihadyama III, 21-22
2. Sachau II p. 154.
3. If we examine the Vaivāhika images of Bengal representing the marriage scene of Śiva and pārvati, it leads one to think that marriageable age of girls was not so low. (Iconography of Buddhist. and Brahm. Sculpture in Dacca Muscum Pl. XLVIII S. Kramrisch–Pāla and Sena sculpture fig. no. 41. These images depict the goddess as developed maiden with fully developed breasts. The famous author Bāṇa says that the father of Rājyśri waa led to think of her marriage as she had attained puberty (Harsha Charita uchchhvas IV)
4. Manu 9, 178 : Vaśiṣṭha 18, 2–6 : Ausanasa 36.
   शूद्रायां विधिना विप्राज्जातः पारशवो मत. ।
5. Watters I p. 168.

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and the poet had a Pāraśava[1] brother Chandrasena by name. We learn from Tipperah grant of Lokanatha (650 A. D.) that on the mother side the family member was called Pāraśava[2], i. e sprung from a Brāhmaṇa father and a Śūdra mother. In Pratihāra records of 9th century A. D. Brāhmaṇa Harishchandra is described to have married Brāhmaṇa as well as Kshatriya girls.[3] A literary evidence also supports the *Anuloma* marriage where the poet Rājaśekhar had married Kshatriya Chāhamāna lady. The Chedi king Yasahkarṇadeva went so far to marry a girl of Huṇa family who had not the equal status like the chedies in the society.[4] In Kashmīr history we find many such instances of intercaste marriages. Bāladitya, the king of Gonanda dynasty is known to have given his daughter in marriage to a Kāyastha. Sangramarāja, a king of Kashmir had married his sister to a Brāhmaṇa.[5] The famous lady Didda, the daughter of Lohar king (a Khas chief) was married to Kshatriya Kshema Gupta[6] and she issued joint coinage with her husband which is supported by the coin-legend.[7] These evidences go to prove that intercaste marriage was not discarded in the society. Among the Muslim historians Ibn Khurdabda describes Anuloma intercaste marriages[8] while Alberuni laying down the theoretical rules

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1. Harshcharita Uchchhvas I (भ्रातरौ पारशवौ)
2. E. I. Vol. XV p. 301–5.
3. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96.
   तेनश्री हरिश्चद्रेण परिणीता द्विजात्मजा
   द्वितीया क्षत्रिया भद्रा महाकुल गुणान्विता
   J. R. A. S. 1894 p. 1
4. E. I. Vol. II p. 4 V. 15.
   अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वय जलनिधि लक्ष्म्यां श्रीमदावल्ल देव्याम्
   The words जलनिधि लक्ष्म्या show that Huna lady was princess of royal status. Huna kings fought with Rajaputa rulers and they had kingly status in Central India.
5. Rāj. Taranga VII, 10–12.
6. Ibid I, 318–17.
7. Di–Kshema Gupta (C. M. I. pl. IV no. 1b)
8. Ellio. History Vol. I p, 16.

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add that in his time (11th century) Brāhmaṇa did not avail of this liberty and were marrying woman of their own caste.[1] So it is fair to conclude that such inter-caste marriages were not often taking place in the society.

Polygamy.

Polygamy was a common feature with the ruling familes in ancient India. There are copious references of the kings marrying two or more than two women. The royal documents refer to many cases of polygamy but it was not the case with ordinary people. The Jodhapur inscription of Pratīhāra Bauka states that the founder of the house, Harishachandra, had two wives.[2] His descendant Mahendrapāla and other married two ladies[3] in their life time. In Parmāra Prasasti the king Jagadeva Udayaditya is described as accepting the hands of one Solanki princess and another of the daughter of Baghel king.[4]

The Chandela record of Madana Varmana reveals that Anant had two wives[5] and another epigraph of the same family gives the names of Prabhā and Jāmha as two wives of Devagana.[6] Pāmalla Devī and Maula Devi have been described as wives of Chāhamāna ruler Rājyapala[7] while Rāmā and Padmā were married to one Chedi king Gangadhara.[8] The further examination of Chedi records shows that it was ordinary feature with Chedi kings and Gāngeyadeva went to such an extent to marry hundred ladies during his life and all

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1. Sachau II, p. 155–6.
2. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 95.
   तेनश्री हरिश्चद्रेण परिणीता द्विजात्मजा
   द्वितीया क्षत्रिया भद्रा महाकुल गुणान्विता
3. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 176; Vol. XVIII p. 88.
4. E. I. Vol. XXII p. 56 : Ibid XXI p. 54 (द्वे भार्ये)
5. E. I. Vol. I. p. 200.
6. E. I. Vol. I. p. 48. (जाम्हो नाम्नीद्वितीयास्य विलास वसतिः प्रिया)
7. E. I. Vol. XI, p, 61.
8. Ibid Vol. XXI. p. 160.

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wives were alive during his life time.[1] Gāhaḍavāla kings were not free from this customary feature of polygamy and the dynastic records refer to this kind of practice. The king Madanpāla (father of Govindchandradeva) had two queens– Pṛthivisrika and Raihaṇā who (the latter) gave birth to the notable son Govindachandra.[2] This prince in his life married five ladies named (A) Gosala Devi[3] (B) Nayanakelī Devi[4] (C) Kumāra Devi[5] (D) Vāsant Devi[6] and (E) Dalhaṇa Devi.[7] The Arab merchant Sulaimana has stated that there was so restriction on the king to keep many wives but often they burnt themselves on the same pyre when the king died.[8] The epigraphic evidences of polygamy are lacking in the case of common man but marriages in succesion in consequences of the death of the former wife was not uncommon. Dharmaśāstra writers are unanimous in case of want of progeny and they sanction polygamy. Āpasthamb[9] declares when a man has a wife in whom Dharma and progeny are wanting, he may marry another. Manu[10] and Yājñavalkya[11] both say that a husband may supersede wife (and marry another) if she drinks wine, suffers from a disease, speaks harsh words and even gives birth to female children only. Devala gives clear verdict that Śūdra may have only one wife, a Vaiśya two, a Kshatriya three and a Brāhmaṇa four, but in the case of king, he may have as many as he desires.[12] Thus

1. E. I. Vol. II. p. 4. and Vol. XII. 211. (सार्द्ध शतेन गृहिणी)
2. E. I. Vol. IX p. 324.
3. Ibid Vol. V p. 116–18.
4. Ibid Vol. IV p. 107–09.
5. Ibid Vol. IX p. 319–28.
6. Colophon of Nepal Ms. of Astasahasrika (E. I. Vol. XI p. 321) (श्री मद्गोविन्द चन्द्रदेवस्य परमीपांसिका राज्ञी वासन्त देव्या)
7. J. A. S. B. Vol. IV p. 115.
8. Arab aur Bharata Ka Sambandha by Nadavi p. 26–27.
9. Ap. Dh. S. (II. 5. 11, 12–13)
10. Manu Smrti IX; 80–81.
11. Yaj. 1, 73.
12. एका शूद्रस्य, वैश्यस्य द्वे तिस्रः क्षत्रियस्य च
चतस्रो ब्रह्मणस्यस्युर्भार्या राज्ञो यथेच्छतः (Quoted in Griharatnākara p. 85)

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the statment of Smṛti writers are decisive on the subject and it may be presumed that in our period polygamy was not uncommon though not encouraged by the society.

Position of Woman.

Nothing is recorded on the stones regarding the position of woman in the Hindu society during the period under review, yet we have good ground to believe that girls of high families had sufficient opportunities for acquiring proficiency in general art and learning. *Kāvya Mīmānsā* describes higher education of women in royal, official and rich families and to the class of dancing girls.[1] Some women were attracted by medical studies and a treatise on subject was written by a lady doctor Rusā, which was translated in 8th century A. D. into Arabic at the order of Khalifa Hāruna,[2] Girls of ruling familes used to receive some administrative traning. We learn from legends of the mediaeval coinage the names of the queens–Sugandhā and Diddā of Kashmīr and Somaladevī of Rājaputānā who took part in the administration of the states.

The epigraphic records donot mention anything of female education in our period but it was not altogether neglected.[3] In whole society female education received a great setback mostly due to early marriage of girls, but ladies of cultured familis in the towns continued to get proper training. It is hazardous to make any statement about the extent of literacy among women but something can be gleaned from the study of the epigraphs. Capriciousness is said to be the trait of the women

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1. श्रूयन्ते दृश्यन्ते च राजयुवयो महामात्रदुहितरो गणिकाः
कौतुकिभार्याश्च शास्त्र प्रहित बुद्धयः कवयश्च
(Kāvya Mīmansā Chap. 10.–a work of 9th C. A. D.)
2. Nadvi–Arab Aur Bharat Ke Sambandha p. 122.
3. A sculpture from Orissa illustrates the writing of letter by female (Preserved in National Museum. Indian Temple fig. no. 81)

In Pāla inscription it has been described that a Brāhmaṇa Vateśvara Sarmana used to read Mahābhārata to the queen (J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX p. 67 Yr. 1909)

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of the towns and ths city damsels indulged in intoxicating drugs and sensual excesses.[1] The Devapārā praśasti of Vijayasena speaks something of female of aristocratic families. We gather from it that females of village priests were very simple and they could not recognise the precious stones donated to their husbands by the king. After approaching women of rich family of the town they could know the names of those stones by comparing the pear with cotton seeds, silver with gourd flower, emerald with grass leaves, jewels with pomegrantes and gold with blooming flower of Kusumandi.[2]

The general education was necessary in the society to acquaint the women with system of household works and religious function performed with their husbands. The chastity and obedience of wife have been impressed by the law givers of this age and Kātyāyana[3] declares that she must be devoted to her husband. The wife must not live apart, must minister to her husband and lead a chaste life.[4] The guilty wife after undergoing penances, becomes pure and is restorted to all her rights. Echoing the liberal views of other Dharmaśāstra writers Vedavyāsa,[5] Atri[6] and Devala[7] declare that a woman becoming pregnant by connection or by force with a man of other Varṇa remains impure till her delivery and next period when she regains her purity.

The inscriptions of the dynasties and the account of the contemporary foreign travellers no where refer to widow

1. Bargaon plate J. A. S. B. Vol. LXVII p. 99.
2. मुक्ताः कर्प्पास बीजैम्मरकतशकलं शाकपत्रैरलाबू
पुष्पै रूप्याणि रत्नं परिणतिभिदुरैः कुक्षिभिर्द्दाडिमानाम्
कुष्माण्डी वल्लरीणां विकसित कुसुमैः काञ्चनं नागरीभिः
शिक्षन्ते यत् प्रसादाद्बहु विभवयुषां योषिता श्रोत्रियाणाम्
(V. 23; E. I. Vol. I P. 310)
3. Kātyāyan V. 885–37.
4. Vedavyās II, 1, 8, 19, 20, 27 & 34.
5. Vedavyas Chap, II;
6. Atri 183–87.
7. Devala 53 & 54.

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remarriage. In case of Brāhmaṇa widow Smṛti writer is in favour of sacrificing her body on her husband's pyre.[1] Hiuen Tsang's evidence is definit and against the remarriage of the widow.[2] So it may be presumed that such kind of remarriage of widow was getting unpopular in this period though not absolutely forbidden.

Self-immolation of widow (Sati)

The epigraphic records of early mediaeval period donot throw much on the practice of Sati but Smṛiti laws of post-Gupta period strongly urge the widow to sacrifiee herself on her husband's pyre. Such as, Śankha, Angiras and Hārita are definit on this point[3] except the self-immolation by a Bāhmaṇa widow, still the Smṛtis of Gupta age prescribed a life of vows and strict celebacy for widow and allow her to inherit her husband's property.[4] In the case of Brāhmaṇa widow Vedavyās recommends it as an alternative course.[5] The Arab travellers also refer to the practice of *Sati* in Hindu society. The merchant Sulaiman states that the queens cast themselves upon the pile and burn themselves when the corpse of a king is burnt.[6] It was left for them to choose whether they will do so or not, but Alberuni's statement on this point is clear and according to him the queens had to burn themselves whether they wished it or not.[7] Kalhaṇa records the cases of concubines and servants (besides queen) burning themselves along with dead king.[8] Some of the references found in the dynastic inscription reveals that this practice of *Sati* was mostly confined to

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1. मृत भर्तारमादाय ब्राह्मणी वह्निमाविशेत् (Vedavyās 2, 53)
2. Watters Vol. I p. 168.
3. The three quoted by Vijnāneswar on Yaj. 1. 86.
4. Parāsar IV, 31, Vriddha Hārita IX, 205 and Vriddha Viṣṇu etc quoted by Vijnaneswara on Yaj. II, 135–6 (Widow's right to husband property) Yaj ch. II p. 287–298.
5. Vadavyas 2, 53.
6. Elliot History Vol. I p. 6.
7. Sachau Vol. II. p. 155.
8. Raj Tarang; Vol. 481, 1488, VII 724, 859.

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royal families as stated by Arab travellers. An inscription from Devali (Jodhapur) refers to two cases of *Sati* of Rājapūta queens.[1] This shows that the practice of Sati or Sahamaraṇa[2] was observed in Madhyadesa and Rājaputānā.[3] Such instances can be multiplied from Rajaputa history where queens burnt their bodies after the death of their husbands who died in wars. This was technically called *Jauhara*[4] which was not mainly confined to the royal family fo the fort but almost all inmates (queens, maid servants and wives of Sāmantas etc.) of the fort observed this method to end their lives.

Courtesan (Gaṇika)

The class of courtesans has always enjoyed high esteem in the Hindu society. We learn on the basis of archaeological data that they were noted for their beauty and luxury. The high class men and women were also interested in music but the activities of *Gaṇikās* have been mentioned in the inscriptions and represesntd in the sculptures[5] and paintings.[6] In royal

1. E. I. Vol. XX p. 58 : Tod's annals and Antiquity of Rājasthān Vol II p. 737–40. There are other three cases of Sati referred to (E. I. Vol. XX p. 168)
2. The example of the queens of Chedi king Gāngeyadeva may be called Ṣahamaraṇa (E. I. Vol. II p. 4)
3. Though the records of this Period have nothing to say of Bengal but the accounts of travellers show that widow-burning prevailed in Bengal more in the centuries immediately preceeding its abolition (Thoms on–Sutte p. 69–72). This has been explained by P. V. Kane in the light of Dāyabhga prevailing in Bengal. The sonless widow in a joint Hindu family is entitled to the same right over joint family property as her deceased husband. Therefore the members of joint family to get rid of the widow induced her (for Sati) by appealing to her devotion and love for her husband. (Histotry of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II pt. I p. 35.)
4. Tod's annals and antiquities of Rājasthān Vol. II p. 744–746 Chachanamā Vol. I p. 154 and 163.
5. Temple sculptures at Bhuvaneśwar and Khajurāho.
6. Bagh eaves pl. D and E.

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record we often find the praise of the king being sung by the wards or gaṇikās (Apasaras). The fame of Sena ruler Sāmants Sena is said to have sung far and wide by female singers.[1] The stray references in the inscriptions connote that the dancing girls were present in the society and even the village was granted by Assama king Vanamāla (9th. Cent A. D.) along with servents and prostitutes.[2]

The details of dancing and fine dressing can be seen in Bagh paintings where female musicians with musical instruments are arrayed round a dancer.[3] In Pahādapur sculptures (8th century A. D.) many courtesans are shown with heavy jewellry, long dhoti with folds and fluttering end of the garments. They are dancing with vigorous movement. The double lotus seat suggests that the figure belonged to early mediaeval period.[4]

As stated above these *Gaṇikās* were responsible for the performences of music in the higher society. The professional female singers and courtesans perhaps had to pay some tax to the royal treasury. There is a casual reference in 12th century Chāhamāna inscrtption that a certain Rānak Brāhmaṇ belonging to Karnātadesa made free a dancing girl named Usapa-Pattāna from paying *Dasabandha* (a tax.[5]) But we have no other archaeological evidence to support the view of taxation on prostitutes or dancing girls.

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 39 V. 5.
   उद्गीयन्ते यदीयास्खलदुदधि जलोल्लोल शीतेषु सेतो
   कच्छान्तेष्वप्सरोभिर्दशरथ तनय स्पर्द्धया युद्ध गाथा
   E. I. Vol. XIV p. 194.
   वेश्या विलासिता नीव दुरूपचा राणीन्द्रियाणि ।
2. Tejapur grant of Vanamala J. A. S. B. IX (1840) pp. 766.
3. Bagh caves pls. D and E.
4. M. A. S. I. no. 55 Pl. XXXIV (a); XXIX. (d) and pl. XXVII (d)
   Iconog. of Budd. and Brahm. Sculptures of in Dacca Museum pl. XLVIII (a)
5. A. S. I, A. R. 1908-09 p. 119.

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Allied to the institution of curtesans was that of girls maintained in great temples for the worship of gods.[1] Devapara prasasti of Sena king Vijayasena informs that the monarch assigned one hundred beautiful girls to his temple.[2]

Huein Tsang is said to have noticed the dancing girls in the temple of Multan.

The temple sculptures of Khajurāho and Bhuvaneśwar represent dancing girls and play of musical instruments. Cymbol, drum, pipe and Vīṇā were most popular musical instruments in the centuries from 700–1200 A. D. and the temple sculptures are living example of that phenomina.[3]

Thus it is clear that the courtesans were not only living in the society but were active in the art of music in the period under review.[4]

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1. Hiuen Tsang also observed at the shrine of Sun god in the city east of Sindh (Warters II p. 254)
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 310–24 : Tejapur grant (J. A. S. B. IX pp. 766 ff)
3. Detail study in the second part under religious life.
4. Raj. Taranag VII, 858.

   Kavya Mīmansa ch. 10; Kalidas Purva Megha 1, 39.

   वेश्यास्त्वतो नखपद सुखान्प्राप्य वर्षाग्रविन्दु
   नामोक्ष्यन्ते त्वयि मधुकरश्रेणी दीर्घान्कटाक्षान् ।

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CHAPTER V

Life of the People.

(A) Character of the People.

India is a vast country and the character of the people varies in different localities. Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who made an extensive tour in India, has recorded his opinion of the character of the people of Northern India. He has observed that Brāhmaṇas were the purest of all castes and Kshatriya were merciful.[1] Indian people are of pure moral principles, will not take anything wrongfully and donot practise deceit.[2] The people's ideas was so high that they did not attach much importance to worldly objects. money and riches were fickle and momentary[3] for them. Brāhmaṇas though accepted most of the donations in the society but were not greedy and it is recorded that they refused nine hundred gold coins and a piece of land yeilding 100 coins as income.[4] The king also followed the high moral character and always avoided the wives of others, but took delight in their own.[5] He constantly desired the pleasure of his friends. In a Pāla record Dharmapāla and Vākapāla were described as leading

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1. Watters I p. 151.
2. Ibid p. 140, 171.
3. Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. Vol. XVII)
   शैलसरित्तरंग तरलां लक्ष्मीमिमां क्षोभनाम्
4. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 292.
   यः कामरूप नृपतेर्जयपालदेव नाम्नः तुलापुरुष दातुरचिन्त्य धाम्नः
   हेम्नां शतानि नवनिर्भरमर्थ्य मानो नैवाददे दशशतोदय शासनं च ।
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 156.
   सन्त्यक्त परकलत्रो धर्मैकरतोपि सर्वदावश्यं
   निजवनिता परितुष्टोप्युभिलिषित सुहृज्जन प्रमदः ।
   परदारनिवृत चित्त वृते—Aihol Ins. V. 9.

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an ideal life like Rāma and Lâkshmaṇa.[1] Indian's love for charity and benevolence is proved by the documents recording the grants and endowments by the kings and private individuals for free distribution of food and medicine to the needy persons.

The standard of life in the society was high in the case of town people. They used castly and coloured dress as appear from the painting of Bagh. From I-tsing we get the description of the use of umbrella toward the end of 7th century A, D.[2] The town life was luxurious than village life and the people of town used more delicious food and betel.[3] people had deep interest in music and Gaṇikā used to dance even in the temples. In this period new town and capitals were growing so naturally that we find towns getting more population. Devapārā Praśasti[4] clearly informs how the simple women of village priests were trained in recognising the various precious stones which were extra-ordinary objects for village women folk. The most costly articles and lavish expenditure were reserved for royal families and kings. Public appearance was marked by luxury and magnificence.[5]

In the period under review Yajña and Homa became more popular. The Āgamas threw the Vedic religion and sacrifice

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1. E. I. Vol. XV p. 293.
   रामस्येव गृहीत सत्यतपसस्तस्यानुरूपो गुणैः
   सौमित्रे रूदपादि तुल्य महिमा वाकपाल नामानुजः
2. Itsing p. 74 : Watters Vol. I p. 151.
   In the images of our period parasol is conspicuous at the top over the head. It is a sign of divinity and royality.
   S. Kramrisch—pāla and Sena sculptures No. 29.
   R. D. Banerji—E. I. S. of Med. sculpture Pl. XIII (a)
   Gods of Northern Buddhism p. 121.
   Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 53-8.
   No. images of an ordinary person has been found with Umbrella.
3. *Tambulika* guild has been referred to in Siyadoni inscription (E. I. Vol. I p. 174 : Ibid Vol. XI p. 53.
4. E. I. Vol. I pp. 310-24.
5. Raj. Taranga VIII, 71.

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in back ground and worship of Pauranic gods and observasion of rituals got the upper hand. The general public respected the Paurnanic deities, while Vrata and Tīrtha were regarded as aspects of religious life.[1] Thus we find that the social character of the people had assumed a new form whose replica we find in modern Hindn society.

(B) Dress, Toilette and Ornaments.

(i) Dress

The dynastic epigraphs supply us with every little information about the dress of this period from 700–1200 A. D. In very ancient days an under garment (*Vasay antarum*) and an upper garment (*Paridhānam*) were in general use among the members of both sexes. The females by nature are lovers of beauty, so they try to dress themselves nicely and used cosmetics to increase the beaty of the body. Though the inscriptions are silent on this point but sculptures, images and paintings of this age have much to say about this subject. The examination of early mediaeval images shows that clothing represent the costumes of the people in general. The cloths required to be given to Sun god point out that male used to have dhoti and a scarf attached to upper portion of the body.[2] We learn on the basis of *Matsya Purāṇa* (Chapter 261) that Sun god should be given a 'northern dress'[3] and the text further directs that attendants Danda and Pingala also should be dressed in the 'Northern' fashion. Therefore it may be suggested that probably Northern dress consisted of Dhoti (fastened round the waist) and a scarf which (this type of dress) was distinguised from southern fashion. The Arab traveller Sulaiman (9th Cent. A. D.) testifies to the fact that people used to

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1. Detailed description in the next section.
2. Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 159 pl. LVIII.
3. रविः कार्यश्शुभश्मश्रुः सिन्दूरारुण सुप्रभः
उदीच्यवेषस्स्वाकारस्सर्वा भरणभूषितः (मत्स्यपुराण)
Some takes 'Northern dress' as persian dress.

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fasten a cloth to the waist and put on an upper-garment.[1] In the case of the god Manjuśri, the artist have shown lower garment falling below the knee and upper garment-like a scarf, encircling the breast with two ends flowing.[2] The evidences avilable from the artistic specimens show that normally women also required two garments during this period. The dhotī in which the sculpture clothed the deities, was probably shorter than the present day standard dhotī of 5 yards length. In Bagh frescoes (7th to 8th century A. D.) we find a realistic view of the life (as the paintings are more human depicting the life of the time) and there the figure of the male has short dhotī like lungi.[3] In pre-muslim period the standard appears to be nearer 3 yards and this short dhotī of male may be seen in all figures of the gods.[4] In the case of female perhaps it was about 5 yards long and descended much lower one or two inch above the ankle. In the case of female dress the sculptural evidences are not quite clear and Partly seems to be conflicting whether upper part of sārī covered the bust of the ladies as we find in the present day. In most of the cases generally the Sārī is seen covering the lower person only. This fact becomes more clear when we carefully examine the manner of wearing the Sārī by the ladies. The Sārī in those days was not like the modern Sārī (i. e. going round the waist like petticoat and some part covers the upper portion) but that appears to have been of a different nature. In Bagh frescoes the females have green upper-garment and striped under-garment.[5] The Sārī was not like a petticost and the standing figure gives the most satisfactory results of the style

1. Nadvi-Arab aur Bharat ka Sambanda p. 27.
2. Iconography Dacca Museum pl. VII (a) and Med. Ind. Sculp. pl. VIII.
3. Bagh caves pl. B.
4. Iconography of Dacca Museum pl. XXIX, XXXI, XXVI and XXXVI In earlier period also Samudra Gupta is represented with similar clothes on his lyrist type of coin (Cat. of Gupta Coins, Bayana Hoard pl. VI no. 4-8.)
5. Bagh caves pl. E.

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of dress. Sārī does not cover the front like flat piece but goes round the legs and exhibits their contours. Both the ends are tucked up and fastened behind like a *Kachha*.[1]

The Sārī having thus been finished at the waist, it remains to be seen how the upper part of body was covered. Cunningham thought that nudity conveyed no sense of indecency in India prior to the advent of muslims,[2] so women in sculptures, images and paintings appear to be very scantily dressed.[3] It can not be argued that the upper person of women is bare because the sculptors were not skilful enough to show the same Sārī covering both the upper and lower parts of the body. Though bodices were not inconceivable in higher society but examples are rare in the female figures (except attendents) during early mediaeval period. The Bagh frescoes only depict female wearing short sleeved white bodice.[4] This may be explained that such artistic specimens without suggesting any indecency exhibited fully the beauty of the female and also gave an opportunity to the artists to show different beautiful ornaments worn out on the chest and shoulders.[5] In short it may be stated that wearing of the clothes below the navel was universal among male and female. The Uttariya was used by members of both sexes now and then. Some time

1. Iconography ia Dacca Museum pls. XIV, XVIII, XXI, XXIII, XLIX, LI, LIII and LIV.

   (Even in modern days female of the Punjab, Rājaputānā, Gujarāta, Bombay and Travancore states have two pieces of dress. Probaley one piece Sari appears to be foreign.)

2. Tree and serpent worship pp. 102–3.
3. At Sānchi and Bhārhuta ladies are seen wearing an upper garment. In Gupta coins some times the upper garment covers the entire person of the woman and some time it is often folded, passed over to the shoulders and allow it to hang down. (Stupa of Bhārhuta pl. XXIII 3; Cat. of Gupta coins Bayana Hoard pl, XLV)
4. Bagh caves pl. F.
5. Iconography in Dacca Museum pls. XXV, pls. VII (b), XXXI XXXIII. Med. Ind. sculptures p. 29.

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it ts in the shape of narrow long piece of cloth covering fully the left breast and leaving the right partially uncovered.[1]

As regards the nature of cloth it may be suggested that people knew the colouring of Sārī and designs of clothings.[2] On the authority of Hiuen Tsang it is gathered that in 7th Cent. king and wealthy people used rich dresses and the clothing of the people was made of silk, Muslim, linen, and fine wool. In the area of Takka (between Sind and Beas) people wore gloossy white clothing made of silk and those of Kānyakubja were dressed in glossy silk.[3] Muslim writers also mention similar cloths which were expored from India to the western countries of Asia.[4] Thus we find that cotton and silken clothings were generally used in this period.

As regards the headdess it may be stated that in ancient India men and women used some kind of head gear[5] and it continued down to the early centuries of the christian era as evidenced by the sculptures of Sūnga and post-Sūnga periods.[6] Gradually the head dress became antiquated fashion all over the country and in case of female it was felt superfluous. On the authority of iconography this much can be stated that male or female deities frequently have conical tapering *Mukuts* and this kind of headdress was the sign of divinity and royalty. These head gears can not be taken to be in general use in the society and in the absence of secular sculptures it is not possible to say the nature of head gear wore by the people in general. It is just possible that there might be some ceremonial headdress

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1. Ibid pl. LXIII and LXIV In case of dancing girls the entire person from neck to ankles is covered with full dress. They are seen covering their breasts with bodices or blouses (Bagh caves pl. E.)
2. Bagh caves all plates.
3. Watters I pp. 287–340.
4, Nadvi–Arab aur Bharat Ka Sambandh pp. 54–58.
5. Wearing of head dress (Ushanisha) by goddess Indrani (Sat, Brahm XIV 2, 1, 8.)
6. Current in central India, Mālvā and Uttar Pradesh.

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used on specific occasions but it was not the fashion of the day in the centuries from 700–1200 A. D.

The view that the art of sewing was unknown to Hindus before the advent of muslim does not hold good in the period under review. Inspite of earlier references of the process of sewing in Ṛgveda and later literatures, We find that blouses or jackets were in vogue in the plain of Northern India. Itsing informs that shirts and trousers were common in Kashmīr and the Punjab[1] during 7th cenntury A. D. In Bagh cave paintings ladies have been represented with colourful sārī and jackets, but such examples are not many. Hence it appears that in our period, the fashion of wearing blouse was not popular or artists knowingly deprived the female figures with this feature.

(ii) Hair-dressing.

The fashions of dressing the hair were many and graceful. The examination of the paintings and sculptures of our period will be an eye-opener to the ladies of the present generation and it will be clear that those fashions still survive in the society. The coiffure of female figures is an interesting study and it becomes very clear from the chignon on the head of the female deities,[2] The idea of the arrangement of hair and its decoration can be better seen in the original than described. The best fashion of hair dressing current in those days can be seen in Orissan sculptures (now in National Museum, New Delhi) and in all cases the hair are fastned in a knot on the back behind.[3] It becomes more graceful and varied by adding some pedding and ornaments. Some ladies used to arrange the hair in gradually receding tiers or in two artistic bundles hanging on either side of the head, The Pehva Prasasti

1. Itsing p. 68.
2. Incography in Dacca Museum pl. LXIII; Med. Ind. scluptures by R. P. Chanda pl. IX; S. Kramrisch—Pāla and Sena Sculptures figure no 49.
3. E. I. S. of Med. sculpture pl. L (all)

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of Mahendrapāla describes[1] that the feudatory Purṇarāja was the cause of the curly hairs of the wives of the enemies becoming straight.[2]

The sculptures also help us to know about the arrangement of hair by males. Generaly curly hairs are seen falling lower down.[3] Besides this male had beard and moustache as seen by Sulaiman in his commercial journey to India during 9th century A. D.[4] The both were shaved on the death of a relation[5] but it is not clear whether there was a fashion to grow the beard and moustache or not.[6]

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 246 (V. 16)
   करतलस्थगिताधर पल्लवा प्रतनुकान्तिकपोलतलोदरम्
   सिषिचुरस्त्रजलैर्यदरि स्त्रियस्सरलितप्रचुरालक जालकाः ।
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 246 V. 16.
3. E. I. S. of Med. Sculpture p. XXXVI (b)
4. Nadvi–Arab aur Bharat Ka Sambandh p. 26.
5. Ibid p. 27.
6. Only a few instances of moustances have been found in the early mediaeval sculptures which can not bring us to any definite conclusion. From Bihar a Śiva image in *Raudra* form (with the skull on the crown—E. I. S. of med. sculpture pl. LI (c); The art of Pāla empire pl. XXV) and a dvārapāla figure (Kumbrahar terracotta plaque) of 10th century A. D. depict a very stiff moustache and no other image of male or a diety has got it. From a passage in Matsya Purāṇa (chapter 251) it appears that Surya should have a fine moustache, and the dress of the northern country. (रविः कार्यश्शुभ श्मश्रुः सिन्दूरारुण सुप्रभः) but no Sun image of northern India has any vestige of moustache except a bearded figure of Pingala to his right. (Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 164 pl. LVIII; Rao–Hindu iconography Vol. I pt. II pl. XC and Pāla and Sena sculptures fig. 5 and 7.) It is difficult to explain the absence of this manly feature from the plastic specimens. It may be suggested that moustache was tne symbol of harshness and fear. Hence *Raudra* form of Śiva has been associated with it. The same is the case of Dvārapāla. This may be confirmed with Maheśamurti of Elephanta where Rudra has the moustache (Dr. Coomarswamy

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(iii) Cosmetic:

We have no definite infomation regardiug the cosmetic used by the women in the society but stary references in the epigraphic records point to some ointment and vermilion[1] as indespensable for married women. In the inscriptions it is often described that victorious king used to kill their opponents and deprive their wives of the use of vermilion and ointment for lips. In Khajurāho inscription (953 A. D.) of Chandela dynasty we find a similar description where king deprived the woman of his enemy of the use of *Sindhūra*[2]—a symbol of

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History of Indian and Indonesian Art pl. LV no. 194) and no other from of Śiva.

Even in the earlier period it was not the common feature in the northern India; but in North western Part of India i.e. region of Taxila moustache appears to be the popular fashion. It was a feature of Gāndhāra school of Indian sculpture (Ibid pl. XXVII no. 95) and the same appears on the effigy of the coin of Indo-Greek king Helioklas (P. M. C. pl. III no. 183), of coin of Alexander (Ibid pl. IX no. 1), coins of Indo-Parthian king Orthagnes (Ibid pl. XVI no. 76) and on the coins of Kuṣān kings (Ibid pl. XVII no. 31 and 63 : pl. XX no. 11) The moustache is very clear on the coins of western Kshatrapa rulers who were of western origin and started their rule as governors of Kushana king of N. W. India. This feature (moustache) is not found in other part of Northern India neither on Gupta coins nor in Sarnath school of Indian sculpture or Pāla school of Bengal. There is only one exception in Mathura school where *Rudra* icon of post-Gupta period has moustache (Cat. of Brahmanical images of Mathura Museum p. 28 no. 462. The classical age pl. XIX no. 38) Hence it may be conjectured that it was a fashion introduced near about Taxilla by foreigners and kings or the people of other parts of India did not follow that in early mediaeval period.

1. Matsya Purāṇa chapter 260 describes the vermilion spot on the female side of Ardha-nāriswar image of lord Śiva.
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 129.

यस्यानने शरदखण्डशशि प्रसन्ने कोपं व्यनक्ति हृदयस्थमरिप्रियाणाम् ।
सिन्दूर भूषण विवर्जितमास्य पद्मं उत्सृष्टहारवलयं कुचमण्डलञ्च ॥

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Saubāgya. From other insciptions we learn that the wives of the foes were deprived of the use of red colour over the lips which have been compared with young shoots[1] or the colour was due to betel leaves.[2] Besides the streak of *Sindūra*, a cirular mark of *Kumkuma* on the forehead was put by the maidens, which appears to be very common fashion among the women of the period under review. The sculptures reveal that this mark and *Sindūra* were applied with right hand while the women held the mirror in the left,[3] No record mention the application of some colour (*Missi*) to the teeth, but Hiuen Tsang observed that Indian ladies staining their teeth with red or black objects.[4] The custom of reddening and darkening were prevalent in Assam and it was taken as the proces of beautification of faces.[5] It may be suggested that reddening was probably done by the use of the betel which was used[6] by the women in the society. One of the symbols of *Saubhāgya* was the use of bangles in the part of the wrist, This portion of the body usually have bangles and ornamets both at one and the same time, but one of the mediaeval sculptures shows that ladies were fond of large number of bangles occupying the wrist and lower part of their hands.[7]

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 246.
   करतलस्थगिताधर पल्लवाऽप्रतनुकान्तिकपोलतलोदरम्
   E. I. Vol. XV p. 296.
   शत्रुवनिता प्रसाधन विलोपि विमलासि जलधार:
2. In Nagar inscription of Dhanika it is said that the enemy wives possessed lips devoid of red colour of betel leaves. (Bharata Kaumudi pt. I p. 274)
   ताम्बूल राग रहिताधर भाञ्जियस्य कोपश्चकार वदनान्यरि सुन्दरीणाम्
3. Med. Ind. sculpture by Chanda pl. VIII; Khajurāho and Bhuvaneśwar sculptures are full of such specimens. We have very beautiful specimen of Sura Sundari on the wall of Kondariya Mahadeva Temple. (Khajurāho)
4. Watters I p. 151.
5. Yogini Tantra pt. II Chapter IX V. 15.
6. Siyadoni inscription refers to the Saṁgha of betel makers (E. I. Vol. I) and its sale in market.
7. E. I. S. of Med. sculpture pl. L (all)

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The last and not the least important was the application of black collyrium to the eyes of the females. It was also the sign of the *Saubhāgya* because we find that the widows of the enemies had given up the application of collyrium because there was no occasion for an amorous play.[1]

(iv) Ornaments.

The examination of the sculptures and images show that Hindu women loved simple dress but their taste in the realm of ornaments may be appreciated. The females were fond of wearing brilliant and artistic ornaments which may be regarded as the natural consequence of the prosperous condition of the society. The ornaments were of varied types and most of them are still surviving in the present day society. Rings (*Mudra*) were used on fingers and bracelets (*Kaṅkāṇa*) were used along with bangles. Ear lobes (*Kuṇḍala*) pierced and hanging down were universally adopted by both males and females and the designs were very graceful. In the case of ladies it was circular pendants of large size. Necklaces (*Hāra*) worn by the male and female form an interesting study and they were prepared of gold and precious stones (pearls and blue stones) reaching down to the chest. The bodies were adorned with *keyuras*. Armlet, belt (*Udarabandha*) and anklet (*Nupura*) were common to both sexes and are very prominent on different images.[3] The bracelets and

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1. Nagar inscription of Dhanika (Bharata Kaumudi pt. I p. 274)
   भ्रूभङ्गया रहितैरनन्य गतिभिः सन्त्यक्त कालाञ्जनैः
   रक्तान्ताग (त) वाष्पविन्दु कणिका भारी भवत्पक्ष्मभिः
   यस्याराति वराङ्गना नयनकैः क्रीडाप्रसंगाद्विना
   वैधव्य कृततीव्रतापहृदये धाराग्रहं मज्जितम
   El. Vol. XXVI p. 254 (V. 2) Kalachuri record (12th C. A. D.)
2. Pahadapur images and plaques have different kinds of earrigs and necklace made of beads (A. S. M. no, 55 p. 54)
3. Med. Ind. sculputres by Chanda pl. X.
   Codrington. Med. Ind. Sculptures p. 29 (Female figures with jewellery, whether with parrot or chauri bearer are in dancing pose) Bagh caves pl. F.

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waist-bands are still common in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal. In sculptures one can notice the pearl strings attached to the hair to retain her position. In modern days the nose-ring is important for female, which a bride used to get at the time of the marriage, but it is conspicious by its absence in the sculpture and painting of our period.

(C) Food and Drink.

(i) Food.

The inscriptions ranging from 700–1200 A. D. in the Northern India contain copious references to the food used in the society and the materials of the diet. Rice, wheat, fish, meat, pulse etc. constituted the chief articles of food. The food preparation was relishing due to the mixture of ghee and other tastful spices. In Nālandā record we find a description of *Anna* (rice) being mix-up with curd and ghee.[1] Mahābrihi (महाव्रहि) was one of the best known variety of rice mentioned by Charaka in the list of principal kind of rice (*Nidana Sthana* IV. 6) Even Patanjali praises the *Sāli* rice grown in Magadh (I, 19) and the variety servived for a thousand years. According to Ywang chwang there was an unusual sort of rice growth in Magadha—the grain was large scented and had good taste (Beal Suyuki II, 82) Hwuili, the biagrapher of chinese pilgrim states that *Mahāsāli* was grown in Magadha and Ywang chwang during his visit of Nālandā was entertained with this specifie kind of rice (Sankāliā-Nālandā p. 192–93.) Generally wheat (गोधूम) and rice were separately prepared in ghee as the principal article of diet, to be presented before the deity i. e. for offering (नैवेद्य) This kind of preparation is mentioned in an inscription from Rajaputānā where measured quantity of wheat and rice (चापा) were cooked with fixed quantity of ghee. The record says[2] that two *Sei* of wheat flour required

1. E. I. Vol. XX p. 44.
सम्यग् बहुघृत दधिभिः व्यञ्जनैः युक्तमन्नम्

2. Here शे (=Sei), क (=Kalasa). मा (=mani) and पा (=payali) were measure of capacity. मुंग (=Munga) pulse and चापा (=rice) along With गोधुम (=wheat) were measured.
गोधूम शे २ पक्कघृत क ८ नैवेद्य मुंग मा १ चापा पा २

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eight *Kalasa* of ghee for preparing *Naivedya.*[1] From the topography of the royal records it appears that wheat, rice and barley were cultivated in the Ganges valley, Mālvā and central India. Sugar cane has been mentioned in several inscription along with other cereals consumed by the people.[2] Thus it is clear that Sugar also fomed a part of diet in that age. Cow's milk[3] and curd[4] are not frequently mentioned in the list of food stuffs; so it may be suggeted that probably these formed a portion of meal of upper class of the society. Milk, sugar and rice also constituted Haviṣa (हविष) for the manes.[5] Similar was the case of Ghee which was not the substance of food for low class people. The Smṛtikara Angiraḥ has proposed milk, curd and ghee probably for higher section while considering the comparative nature of their digestion.[6] Smṛti writers like Aṅgiraḥ (V. 60–80) Āpasthamba (chapter VIII) Vedavyās (chapter III) and others have discussed this problem of food in Society, where the discussion centres round the meal of Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. Other castes have no restriction over diet i. e. Śūdras and Antyaja could take what ever they liked. Āpasthamba[7] looks over the various food stuff from the scientific view of digestion.

The inscriptions of our period supply further information about the various spices that were used in the diet. A 10th

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 57.
2. I. A. Vol. XVI p. 209; A. S. I. A. R. 1902–3 p. 252.
   Hiuen Tsang gives a long list of food grains and fruits. Rice and wheat were important grains. He informs that wheat flour was abundat in Northwest; rice and barley in the west and rice in Magadha. Among fruits Mango, Melon, Madhuka, Jack fruit and plaintain were used by the people (Record Vol. II p. 43–44).
3. A. S. I. A. R. 1902–3 p. 252.
4. E. I. Vol. XX p. 44.
5. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 194.
6. पयो दधि तु मासेन षण्मासेन घृतं तथा (अङ्गिरः ६६)
7. Āpasthamba Smṛti 8/5.
   अन्नं व्यञ्जन संयुक्तमर्धं मासेन जीर्यति, पयस्तु दधि मासेन षण्मासेन घृतं तथा

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century A. D. record[1] mentions merchants trading in salt, papper, ginger and vegetables which were collectively called *Kirānā*.[2] Thus it is elear that spices were mixed up to make the food more tasteful and they were used along with ghee and oil for the preparation of the vegetables, fish and meat. The study of the dynastic epigraphs shows that oil farmed a staple article for food. In the donative records the traders in oil have to pay tax in cash or some quantity of oil for the lamp to the deity, but the corporate trade in oil mill (*Ghaṇaka*) would show that the oil was purchased by the public for their own use. The oil pressing business is often mentioned in the records, which contain the gift of one palika of oil from oil mill[3] or two palikā on every *Kumbhaka* (leather oil vessel[4]) of oil sold. The references to oil industries show that this article was in great demand in the society.

The general survey of land grants reveals a kind of secret in the dietary of the higher section of the people mostly Brāhmaṇas. In case of Agrahāra villages whille specifying the details of the gift the word *Samatsyākāra* (समत्स्याकर) is mentioned in many of the records of Gāhaḍavāla dynasty[5] and the same word is mentioned even in a Buddhist record of Govinda chandra deva.[6] Similar reference is also found in a Pāla document of Devapāla but the word is *Samatyasah*.[7]

It appears that this word is not without significance and may be explained in the way that the donee was authorised to use the fish in the ponds situated in the area

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 70. Verse 79–80.
2. The word किराउउआ stands for किराना i. e. miscallenious spices. (E. I. Vol. XI p, 43.)
3. E. I. Vol. I P. 177.
   (समस्त तैलिकानां घाणकं घाणकं प्रतिदिन धर्मार्थं हेतोः तैल पलिका प्रदत्ता)
   E. I. Vol. XI P. 42.
   (आत्मीय घाणक तल पल मध्यात् पलिकाद्वयंदत्तः)
4. E. Vol. III p. 264.
5. E. I. Vol. IV, Vol. VIII p. 154; Vol. XXVI p. 73.
6. Sahet–Mahet record (E. I. XI p. 24)
7. सजलः समत्स्यः (E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 306)

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gifted to Brāhmaṇas. The presence of fisheries in the Agrahāra villages may suggest that the Brāhmaṇas (donee) use the fish in their diet, though rarely or on some occasions.[1] In the case of meat it was a discarded object of food for Brāhmaṇas as stated in the Smṛtis. In one of the epigraphs from Rājputānā an indirect reference of meat eating has been found where Chāhamāna ruler Alahaṇadeva prohibited the animal slaughter on specific days. It contains the injunction for killing cattle by the priest, Mahājana and Tāmbulika on *Sivarātri* day, and 8th, 11th as well as 14th day of very *Paksha*. It is further stated that Vaisyas were given capital punishment for killing the animal while the Brāhmaṇa priests were ordered to respct the edicts of non-slaughter, but those committing that sin would be fined five Dramma.[2] Thus is makes clear that on the other days (not specified in the record) the animals were killed by the priest or Vaiśas for their own use. Alberuni did not notice the eating of meat by Brāhmaṇas. He has stated that people had desire for meat but law applied to Brāhmaṇas only because they were the guardians of religion. The animal allowed for killing were sheep, goat, hare, fish, buffalo, water and land birds while cow, horse, mule, camel, elephant, parrots etc. wera forbidden.[3] The above account points out that the practice of meat eating was common in the people except Brāhmaṇas in early mediaeval society. But Alberuni's statement can not be taken too literaly. A new plate of Bhoja[4] preserved in the Indor Museum does refer too the killing of animals for the purpose of feeding learned Brāhmaṇas. The lines seven to nine of that plate states.

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1. समस्त्य and समत्स्यकर mean tank with fish. It may also be suggested that the donee realised the tax on fishery in the Agrahāra.

2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 45–6.

शिवरात्रि चतुर्दश्यां शुचि.....पुण्य यशोभिवृद्धये प्राणिनामभय प्रदानं महाजन ताम्बूलिक समास प्रकृतीन् सम्बोध्य उभय मासे उभयो पक्षयोः अष्टमी एकादशी चतुर्दशी एतासु तिथिषु जीव च व्यतिक्रम्य जीवानां बध कारयति व स व्यापादनीयाः—अपरं पुरोहित एषा अभारिरूढिः प्रमाणी कार्या.....कोपि पापिष्ठतरो जीवबधं कुरूते तदा स पंचद्रमै दण्डनीयः ।

3. Sachau Vol. II p. 151–52.

4. I. H. Q. Vol. VIII p. 311.

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राजपुरुषान ब्राह्मणोत्तस्नान ....

....

यथा श्री मद्धारावस्थितैरस्माभिः पारग विप्र

प्रभृति कृत प्राणिवध पायश्चित दक्षिणां (यां) स्नात्वा

It may be translated in the following words :— as "Having taken our bath in the expiation fee (in the form of a river) for the slaughter of the animals for purpose of feeding of learned Brāhmaṇas, we in Dhara." But the meaning expressed by Mr. Ojha for the passage (पारगविप्र प्रभृति कृत प्राणिवध प्रायश्चित दक्षिणायां) is quite different from the context and he takes it as Chambal river. In the support of his view he quotes from Droṇaparva (*Mahābhāratta* Ch. 61) the following–

नदामहानसाद्यस्य प्रवृत्तो धर्म राशितः

तस्माच्चर्मण्वती पूर्वमग्नि होत्रेऽभवत्पुरा ।

This significant name *Charmaṇvati* (Chambala) derived from the meaning of the passage quoted above (from the Bhoja's inscrption) led Mr. Ojha (the editor of the inscription) to think that king Bhoja took bath in the river Chambal (which takes its origin in the Vindhyas and flows to the north.) If the whole passage is taken into consideration it is difficult to reconcile the meaning of first half with the second. From topographical situation we learn that Dhārā is out of Chambala valley. How one can understand that the king Bhoja while residing at Dhārā (श्री मद्धारावस्थितैरस्मभिः) simultaneously could take bath in Chambala on the occasion of land grant. It may be added that grants often contain the name of the place where the king had stationed and while living there he announced the grant. Thus residing at Dhārā (श्री मद्धारावस्थितैः) has definite purpose in the text. The interpretation of Mr. Ojha is without sound basis and there is nothing absurd to think that Brāhmaṇas took meat in that area. We have seen above that Chahamāna record speaks of the slaughter of the animals, so it (the lines in Bhoja's inscription) may also be taken in the same meaning. To support this view it should be noticed that other three copper plate grants viz. (a) Ujjain, 1078 V. S. (I. A. Vol. VI p. 53) (b) Banvasa, 1076 V. S. (I. A. Vol. XII p. 201) (c) Betama; 1076 V. S. (E. I. Vol. XVIII p.

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320–5) mention some *Parvaṇa* (special occasions) for the gift but here (the record under discussion) we have no reference to any *Parvaṇa*. It may be suggested in this case that the grant was in the form of expiation fee (*Dakshinia* for *Prāyaschita*[1]). The king Bhoja was a religious ruler who made *Prāyaśchita* for slaughter done for feeding or by learned Brāhmaṇas and so the king gave donation of land to complete the performane of *Prāyaśchita*. Further it may be stated that the reading of line 8 of the record is open to objeetion and the letters are truncated. Therefore the word Dakshiṇāyām (दक्षिणायां as read by Mr. Ojha) can not be taken in *Saptami*. The simple meaning would be that (the king Bhoja) after taking bath, while residing at Dhārā donated the land as expiation fee for the slaughter of animals by learned Brāhmaṇas. Thus on the basis of epigraphs of Chāhamāna king Alhaṇadeva and king Bhoja of Dhārā, it may be conjectured that Brāhmaṇas of Rājaputānā were taking meat now and then while Kshatriya enjoyed it after hunting. Except Vedavyāsa[2] there was no such sanction in Smṛti literature for such action.

Alberuni also testified to the fact that the people had desire for meat and gives the list of animal to be killed for that purpose.[3]

(ii) Drink

Wine was a common drink in the age from 700–1200 A. D. and the inscriptions of this period contain sufficient references to this effect. The study conveys the idea that there were three kinds of drink.

(1) Wine—*Surāpāna* or *Madhupāna*.
(2) liquor—*Somarasa*,
(3) Tody—*Rasavati*.

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1. This may be taken as प्राणिवध प्रायश्चित दक्षिणा ।
2. Vedavyas Smṛti 3/60.
   मृगयोपार्जितं मांसमभ्यर्च्य पितृदेवता ।
   क्षत्रियो द्वादशोनं तत्कीत्वा वैश्योऽपि धर्मतः ॥
3. Sachau Vol. II p. 151–2.

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As regards the first drink Brāhmaṇa refrained from drinking wine which was a principal drink for the other castes, The Jodhapur inscription tells us in an indirect manner that during 9th century A. D. in Rājputānā the Kshatriyas were accustomed to drink wine. We know that the Pratīhāra king Harischandra married two wives–one Brāhmaṇa girl and second Kshatriya girl named Bhadrā. The sons born to this Kshatriya lady have been described as wine drinkers[1].

The same is supported by the statement of Arab traveller that Brāhmaṇa did not take wine but Kshatriyas were used to that.[2] The second inscription of the same family i. e. Gwalior inscription of Gurjara pratīhāra king Bhoja confirms the earlier document. It goes a step further and relates that women of the family tasted wine and became merry.[3] Thus for Kshatriya class perhaps wine was popular drink and the Brāhmaṇas did not use that. A small inscription[4] dated 725 A. D. from the same area (Ajmer region) states that Brāhmaṇa drank liquor (Somarasa) but the preparation of this liquor has not been narrated. Some kind of liquor was distilled out of Madhuka flower as good many grants refer to the donation of the village with Madhuka trees.[5] The record of Govinda chandra deva informs the same thing[6] where as in the chandela records Mango and madhuka trees are specifically mentioned in connection with the land grants.[7] It is doubtful whether the juice derived from Madhuka flowers was called Somarasa which we know in the present day being distilled for use as wine.

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1. Bauk record (E. Vol. XVIII p. 95)
   राज्ञी भद्रा च यांत्सूते ते भूता मधुपायिनः
2. Elliot–History vol. I p. 7.
3. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 108 V. 6.
4. I. A. Vol. XIII p. 250–1.
5. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 154–6; Vol. IV p. 119; Vol. XXI p. 95 J. B. O. R. S. Vol. II p. 442–7.
6. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 154.
7. Ibid Vol. XX p. 130.
   सजलस्थ सलोह लवणाकार साम्रधूक विटप वाटिका
   .... गोचर पर्यन्त

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The mango was the favourite of the people and therefore its mention was essential in the grants. Arab traveller Abu Haukal who came to India in 11th century A. D. found that this fruit (mango) was widely planted and it was exported to other countries of Western Asia.[1] The specific mention of Madhuka tree in the land grant is not without significance. People got some kind of juice out of this flower. The whole discussion brings to a conclusion that either the Brāhmaṇa donee used some kind of liquor though not in the form of wine or sold Madhuka for distillation. Kalachuri record[2] of Jaya Singh mentions the drinking of toddy by the people in general. The word *Rasavati* has been used for the Palm-juice in that epigraph which is a favourite drink to this day in lower society. According to Charyapāda some liquor was sold by females[3] in Bengal pointing out its use in Eastern India also. That part of India is full of palm trees[4] so it is just possible that people were accustomed to drink the palm juice. Therefore in most part of Northern India extending from Rājaputānā to Bengal some intoxicating drink formed a part of the food in the Society during this period under reviw.

The use of the liquor by the people does not indicate that there was no check on the use of the drink and it was welcomed in the society. The Smṛti writers absolutsly discard the use of intoxicating drink by the Brāhmaṇas and Bṛihatayama prescribe *Homa* and *Prāyaśchiia* in this case.[5] Attri[6] and Śankha[7] go a step further and do not sanction even the use of

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1. Arab aur Bharat ka Sambandha by Sulaiman Nadavi p. 66.7.
2. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 95.
3. J. L. Vol. XXX p. 6.
4. Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena describes the donation of the village with coconut trees (सगुवाक नारिकेल) E. I. Vol. XV. p. 284.
5. Brihatayana Smrti 2. 3.
6. Attri Smrti 61.
   सुरायाः संप्रपानेन गोमांस भक्षणे कृते
   तप्त कृच्छ्रं चरेद्विप्रो मौञ्जी होमेन शुद्धयति
7. Sankha Smrti 17, 43.

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water cantained in the cask of liquor. They prescribe *Prāyaśchita* for drinking such water and ask for the preformanc of *Vrata* for days together.[1] The state also came forward to discourage the sale of drink by taxing it as modern excise department is doing for the prohibition. We have references of liquor distillation in Siyadoni record[2] where the distillor was called *Kallapāla* (modern *Kalawār*) a sub-caste of Vaṇika. The tax recommended was one half Vigrahapāliya Dramma per cask of liquor[3]. A similar levy of tax on wine is mentioned in a Paramāra record dated 1078 A. D. but the amount of tax has not been specified.[4] The toddy seller has also to pay a tax on the sale of Rasavati.[5]

On the evidence of Smṛi[6] and epigraph[7] it apperars that Vaishya class (Kallapāla) used to trade in the liquor. The Smṛti writer Sankha did not only discourage but prescribe Vrata[8] for the demerit of the business. Perhaps this business was greatly condemned by the people. It was thought a low trade and later on Vaishyas appear to have given up the business and some degraded caste was allowed to sell the wine. Ausanasa has expressed similar idea and calls that

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1, Sankha Smrti 17, 43.
(मद्यभाण्डगतः पीत्वा सप्तरात्रं व्रतंचरेत्)

2. E. I. Vol. I p. 174.

3. E. I. Vol. I. p. 174.
समस्त कल्लपालानां मध्ये यस्य यस्य सत्कमद्यमाण्डं निःपद्यते विक्रयं याति सचस चन्द्रार्कं यावत् विग्रहपाल सत्क द्रमार्द्धिका दातव्या ।

4. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 298.

5. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 95.

6. Sankha Smṛti Chapter 17.

7. E. I. Vol. I p. 167 and 174.

8. Sankh Smṛti 17, 58–9.
धारयित्वा तुलाचार्यं विषमं कारयेद्वणिक् ।
सुरालवणमद्यानां दिनमेकं व्रती भवेत् ॥
मांसस्य विक्रयं कृत्वा कुर्याच्चैव महाव्रतम् ।
विक्रीय पणिनामद्यं तिलस्य च तथाऽऽचरेत् ॥

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caste Pulakasā.[1] We might equate Pulakasā with the modern pāsī whose sole business is the sale of wine and toddy juice.

Like modern society high class people used betel at the end of their meals. Several records from central India state that betel sellers called Tāmbolika (the name derived from *Tāmbula* =betel) had to pay tax to the state for their business which was organised in a Guild.[2] The Chāhamāna epigraph mentions the same word Tambulika for betel sellers who inhabited the village along with other sub-castes of Vaiśyas[3]. The word *Patra* (Pāna=betel) and (nut) are often mentioned in connection with the worship[4] of deity after offering (*Naibedya*). This points out to the popular use of betel in the Society by the people[5] who also offered the same to their deities.

(D) Institution of Beggary.

On the basis of epigraphs it is difficult to say something definite regarding the beggary during the period from 700-1200 A. D., but the systematic analysis of the records brings us to a conclusion that "The Institution of Beggary" was widely known. The organised beggary in this age was the evil arising from Buddhist Saṁgh where all lived together with no high ideal of their own. The Varṇāśrama Dharm of the Brāhmnical society which brougt religious mendicants into existence was also responsible for this kind of act-begging from door to door. With growth of Jainism and Buddhism religious mendicancy must have received considerable number of people under the fold of Saṁgh (Maṭh). Monks left their homes or householder stage (in the case of Brāhmaṇa Sanyāsī) and devoted

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1, Ausanasa Smrti 17.

नृपायां शूद्र संसर्गाज्जातः पुल्कसा उच्यते ।
सुरावृत्ति समारूह्य मधुविक्रय कर्मणा ॥

2. E. I. Vol. I p. 174 L. 25; Vol. II p. 5.

3. Ibid Vol. XI p. 43 (ताम्बूलिक श्रेणी)

4. Bhinamal inscription E. I. Vol. XI p. 57.
पुष्प, धूप, दीप, नैवेद्य and ताम्बूल are often mentioned as the paraphernalia of worship.

5. ताम्बूल बल्लि परिणद्ध पूग (J. A. S. B. 1897 no. 4 p. 289)

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themselves in wandering and asceticism. Though in case of Sanyāsī the mendicancy was not an occupation but it was a from of austerity and monks used to go out for alms. Besides these reasons, the frequent and ferocious war among the states was also a cause for beggary in the early mediaeval age. In view of these operations one may imagine that there were periods and stages during which many were rendered homeless and helpless. This added to the injury caused by beggary to the society and evil multiplied in the days to come.

The period from 700-1200 A. D. is the age of land grants and thousands of official records may be classified as donative in their features. This is a special character of the epigraphs of this age which is unique in the history of Indian epigraphy and there would be few record which does not deal with the distribution of charity. The charity was regarded as essential quality of a householder in ancient India and Smṛti writers sanction begging from the Gṛihasthas. Students in the stage of pupillary begged and provided food to their teachers and maintained Āśrama life. So Ascetic and Brahmachāri were allowed to beg alms[1] and were supplied with it. Attri has described six kinds of beggars including Ascetics, Brahmachāri and student of the ancient Gurukula[2].

In this period we have āmple donations for educational purposes,[3] therefore first four were not over inclined towards begging except the last kind of beggar whose sole business was to go round for alms. When beggary was noticed in an organised form, some curative methods were advanced

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1. Briddha Hārita Smṛti 8, 54, and 238.
   यतिश्च ब्रह्मचारी च उभौ भिक्षाशिनौ स्मृतौ ।
   भिक्षां दद्यात्प्रयत्नेन यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् ॥
2. Attri Samhita 165
   ब्रह्मचारी यतिश्चैव विद्यार्थी गुरुपोषकः ।
   अध्वगः क्षीणवृतिश्च षडेते भिक्षुका स्मृताः ॥
3. E. I. Vol III p. 49
   सर्वादाय समेतश्च श्री अमरेश्वरे पट्टशाला
   ब्राह्मणेभ्यो भोजनादि निमित्तम्

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by the society and it was a curative relief emanated either from the private institution or the state. It sprang out of kindness or with motive of charity and sympathy in this period. It (alms-giving) was the charity to every one who came to beg at the door. But the scientific analysis of the inscriptions reveals that in order to give a check to the organised beggary (individual begging at the door) the donations were given to some kind of institutions existing in the state. Several inscriptions record monetary donations or *Agrahāra* grants either to meet the entire or partial cost of living in the educational institutions or of some religious organisation in the form of permanent endowments. Their purposes were to maintain monks, feed brāhmaṇas or students. Mandhāta plate of Jaya Singh refers to a donation for feeding of Brāhmaṇas probably living in the educational institutions. The mention of alms house (Sattrā) in various grants has a specific importance having in view the feeding of needy persons at fixed place. The study of the north Indian inscriptions clearly shows that the alms-house (Sattra) was attached to Saṁgha[1] so that social evil of beggary may not spread further in the society. The description of establishing a *Sattra* (alms house) attached to the temples[2] has its own importance. The three words *Bali, Charu* and *Sattra* are common in most of the grants (9th century to 11th century A. D.) and point out that a portion of income provided to the temple was to be spent in worship (Bali) oblation (Charu) and alms-house (Sattra)[3]. The foundation of alms-house for the hospitable work was a definite step to put a stop to the organised beggary. At those places mendicants could get food without any other consideration

1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 192; Vol. XIII p. 290; Vol. XXI p. 99.
2. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 16; Vol. XIV p. 177; Vol. XVII p. 322 Vol. XI p. 192.
3. I. A. Vol. VI p. 203; E. I. Vol. XIV p. 636 (वलिचरूसत्र) In earlier period it was known as धर्मसत्र.
(प्रासादग्राभिरूपं गुणवर – भवनं धर्मसत्रं यथावत्)
Bilsad inscription of Kumara Gupta I dated 425 A. D.

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of sect and sex. In the Kalachuri record five villages were granted for maintenance of temple and for attached *Sattra*. The villages were divided into four shares, three of which were reserved for the purpose of alms-house, and the repair of the temple. The forth share was divided in fifteen parts of which twelve were to be enjoyed by a corresponding number of Brāhmaṇas fully conversant with the Vedas[1].

The same close situation of alms-house and temple is referred to in the Nālandā inscription of Vipula Sri Mitra where he offered four images on the occasion of the festival[2].

In the same continuation it may be added that separate villages were granted for the worship of the diety and for the alms-house[3]. In the record of a Kalachuri minister named Gangadhara the word *Sarva Sattri* has been used in the same meaning (alms-house) which abounded in savoury food and drink[4]. The Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla II is said to have granted land to alms-house along with Bali and Charu[5]. Chāhamāna record describes the erection of alms-houses on the road from Sambhar to Somanath by Pṛthivirāja I and the new word '*Anna Sattra*' stands for the public charity house (Sattra)[6]. This view is further strengthened when we think that even Buddhist kings erected alms-houses[7] while the principle of charity and bliss were

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 192 Verse 26.
   एषां भागास्त्रयः सत्रे खण्ड स्फुटित संस्कृतौ
   यस्तु चतुर्थभागः स पञ्चदशधाकृतौ
   विभागेन तत्र द्वादश विप्राः प्रतिवेदं प्रतिचतुष्केन
2. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 99.
   येन भ्रमत्यविरतं प्रतिमाश्चतश्रः
   सत्रेषु पर्व्वणि समर्प्पयतिस्म यश्च
3. E. I. Vol. XI p. 193.
   वलिचरू नैवेद्य सत्रोपकरण हेतो पृथग्दत्तः
4. Kharod record—E. I. Vol. XXI p. 165.
   मिष्ठान्नं पान सम्पन्ना सर्वसत्री व्यधादसौ
5. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 177.
6. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 290. (सततमुचितवृत्तिः कल्पयित्वान्नसत्रम्)
7. I. H. Q. Vol. V p. 29.

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neither included in Eight Fold Pāthas nor in Four Fold Truths. The monks used to go to the neighbouring town for begging food. This was the reason that Buddhist vihars were situated at a distance of five to eight miles from the city so that monks could easily reach the town and return to the cave dwellings. Nālandā plate of pāla king Devapāla Deva refers to *Sattra* attached to the monastery in 10th century[1] A. D. At Nālandā alms-house provided delicious food with curd and ghee and pure water to the monks of the Buddhist Saṁgh.[2] Thus it points out that the beggary was descarded and monks and nuns were discouraged from begging as the institution had arrangements to supply them with meals. In Bengal durlng 11th century A. D. Jayāpaladeva constructed a building as alms-house[3] and the same was the case with Vallabhadeva, the Assam king who in the year 1185 A. D. established a *Sattra* near Śiva temple mentioned as Bhaktāśāla (alms house)[4]. This was not the only instance but *Sattra* was maintained for the distribution of food even by Bhāskara Varmana[5]. The examination of official documents drives at the same conclusion and they mention the distribution of food to the needy at the alms-houses attached to the temples (as noted above). These instances point out to the prevalent condition of attaching *Sattra* to the religious or educational institutions[6]. Besides royal gift we have a reference of *Sattra* planned by a group of merchants in the temple and grant was given for the purpose[7]. This tradition has been continuing for centuries together and to this day we find *Sattra* attached to

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1. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 322.
   भिक्षुसंघस्य बलिचरूसत्र चीवर पिण्डपातशयनौ ..... भेषजादि
2. E. I. Vol. XX p. 44. धृत दधिभिः व्यञ्जनैः भिक्षुभ्यः चतुर्भ्यो
   नित्यं तोयं सत्रे विभक्त विमलं भिक्षुसंधाय दत्तम्
3. E. I. Vol. XIII p 285.
4. Ibid Vol. V p. 181–88. (भक्तशालाक्षुधार्थानाम् । महादेवस्य संन्निधौ)
5. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 116.
6. Dr. Acharya – Dictionary of Hindu Architecture p. 615.
7. Anjaneri plate (C. I. I. Vol. IV p. 150.)

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the temples at Vārānasi and the modern name Chhatra is the corrupt form of *Sattra*, still popular with mendicants of that place. These *Sattras* were managed by temple councils because the donations were given for the combined purpose of worship and *Sattra*[1]. Rājatarangiṇi mentions the name of minister Shukradanta who also worked as the superintendent of alms-house[2] in the state.

The beggars used bowl to receive food at the doors and perhaps that was a measure for the articles of diet. In a terracotta plaque found at Pāhādapur (Bengal) the ascetic figure is carved carrying bowl for begging[3]. In no case the beggar was refused the food which appears otherwise from the record concerning Nohaleswar matha. It has been stated that a few Sādhus maintained themselves on alms while others used vegetable or bulbous roots as their food[4]. The Bhagalpur grant[5] of Nārāyaṇapāla tells when beggars approached a king or a rich person, they were satisfied (by his behaviour). Some how or other a feeling (for self respect) flashad in their (beggar's) mind and they thought never to beg again.

(E) Inter-dining

The problem of inter-dining had no place in the records of this period from 700-1200 A. D. We have discussed in the previous pages that the castes were sub dividing and becoming more rigid. There the idea of interdining was out of question. Smṛti writers (Angiraṣh, Yama and Vyāsa) have at great length discussed various types of Prāyaśchita for Brāhmaṇas when-ever they took the food of Śūdra

1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 193.
2. Raj. Taranga 4, 494.
3. A. S. Memoir no. 55 pl. XXVI no. a & b
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 262 V. 83. क्वचिद्भिक्षावृत्तिः क्वचिदपि च शाकाम्यवहृतिः क्वचिन्मूलाहारः
5. I. A. Vol. XV p. 306 V. 14.
यस्यार्थिनः सविधमेत्य भृशं कृतार्था
नैवार्थितां प्रति पुनर्व्विदधुर्म्मनीषाम् ।

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and Antyaja castes, Those were the cases of Āpatadharma i.e. there was no regular occasion for Brāhmaṇas to eat the food of low castes, and Smṛtis had began to frown upon the practice. As the question of interdining discussed in the Smṛtis is beyond our purview it is not proper to pursue the problem further. Alberuni also has supported the view of Smṛtis in the case of Brāhmaṇas but does not attest to the cessation of interdining among the three higher castes[1].

(F) Popular Superstitions

The period under our review (700–1200 A.D.) was the age of *Tantra* and *Mantra* and various kinds of myths and several superstitions have made their home in the society. The minds of the people were not free and were indulged in many types of Tantric worship and popular belief in the charms and spells. This form of religious sect was the outcome of Mahāyana during Pāla period where people used to recite some meaningless syllable called "*Dharaṇis*" (protective spells) but believed to be bestowed with highest bliss in the life. Without understanding the true significance of these *Dharanis*, it was believed that by repeating them a person would gain spiritual strength and get perfect knowledge. Therefere different kinds of religious thoughts began to creep in Buddhism and the lay believer was to follow and recite those *Dharṇis*. This developed form of Mahāyana was called Tantrayāna which gave importance to Mantra and introduced Tantra (the mystic circle) in the form of new worship. Gradually we find the introduction of traditional Myths and beliefs in dead and evil souls and thoughts of hypnotic nature. These things were not new to the people of that age but Tantric ideas were coming down from centuries before and even Brāhmanical sect had assimilated the thoughts of Tantra and Haṭha Yoga. The introduction of the new Tāntric thoughts in Buddhism completed the work and throughout northern India Mantra and Tantra entered in the society.

1. Sachau II p. 13, and 162–3.

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Chinese pilgrim Yuwang Chwang records a number of superstitions and beliefs current among the Buddhist themselves. Kashyapa of Uruvelā was fortune teller and had magic power. At Bodhagaya the brothern believed that the faith would disappear when certain image of Avalokiteswar in the locality would be completely buried under sand and some of them were more than chest deep in the 7th century A. D.[1] In the record of Ballālasena we find an interesting verse describing the effect of Mantra on the people. It states that by reciting Mantras at the time of coronation, all living beings, being freed from affliction, were placed in the path of rightousness[2].

The ideas of Śakti was explained by Tantrayāna as Prajñā and Upāya. The Tāntric form of Hinduism and Buddhism showed a spirit of revolt against the orthodox schools and gave main emphasis on Tantra i. e., practical side of religion namely Tantra Puja.

The study of the dynastic inscriptions and the specimens of art of early mediaeval period points out the prevalence of popular superstitions, astrology as well as divination. The examination of land grants reveals that people had strong beliefs in :

(i) Heaven and hell
(ii) Attack by Rāhu in the solar and lunar eclipses
(iii) Evil spirits (Bhūta)
(iv) Astrology and divination and
(v) New method of Tantric worship.

We know that funeral ceremony is the last secrament in the life of a Hindu and his survivors offer him a number of offerings for his future felicity in the next world. The value of heaven is higher than the present world and the

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1. Watters II p. 115.
2. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 160. अस्याभिषेक विधिमंत्रपदैर्न्निरीतिरारोपितो विनय वर्त्मनि जीवलोकः

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lands were granted by the king to gain heaven[1] as the charity (Dharma) was the only way to heaven[2]. Gurajara Pratīhāra record contains the similar idea of heaven[3]. If the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end of land grants are considered, we find that most of them contain the idea of heaven and hell. It has been repeated that for the protection of grants and by donation of gifts heaven was gained by the individuals but the hindrance, abetting and the destruction would cause hell[4]. In those days th summum bonum of life was to get heaven and the kings even ended their lives by fasting for this very purpose[5]e. Besides Hindus, the idea of heaven and hell have deep root in the Buddhist population also and a Buddhist monk named Karuna Sri Mitra was belived to have gained heaven after his house was set on fire by an army of Bengal[6].

The epigraphic evidences support the view that people took solar and lunar eclipses as most auspicious occasion for gifts. They believed that Rāhu attacks[7] the heavenly bodies and cause eclipse, though Āryabhata (5th century A. D.) was the first mathematician to hold the scientific view of the solar and lunar eclipses. According to him eclipses

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1. E. I. Vol. III p. 266. संसारार्णव तरणार्थं स्वर्गमार्गार्गलोद्वाहन हेतोः
   E. I. Vol. V p. 114. स्वर्गद्वारकपाट अर्गलेद्घाटनाय
2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 8 : I. H. Q. Vol. VIII p. 312.
   प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलविन्दुसमां नराणाम्
   धर्मस्सखा परमहो परलोक याने ।
3. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96-8. स्वर्गलोकं समागतः
4. E. I. Vol. IV p. 133. षष्टिवर्ष सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः
   आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।
   E. I. Vol. XII p. 24 : Vol. VIII p. 93.
   भूमि यः प्रतिगृहणाति यस्य भूमि प्रयच्छति
   उभौ तौ पुण्य कर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग गामिनौ
   J. B. O. R. S. Vol. II p. 407. (नरकानि निवर्तन्ते यावत् चन्द्रदिवाकर)
5. E. I. Vol. XVIII. p. 96. (अन्ते चानशनं कृत्वा स्वर्गलोके समागतः)
6. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 98 V. 2.
7. E. I Vol IV p. 158; Vol. XXI p. 219 and I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 14. (राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकर)

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were not the work of Rāhu but caused by the shadow of the Earth falling on the Moon and Sun[1]. Probably this view was not known or the people were ignorant of this subject; hence they attached importance to mythology of the attack of Rāhu[2] during the eclipses.

The survey of land grants shows that people in our period had strong belief in evil spirits. The general word Bhūta has been used in the several grants of Gāhaḍavāla[3] and Chandela[4] kings. The records while describing the procedure of the gift refer to the offering of Tarpaṇa to the evil spirits along with the Manes[5] (*Pitṛi*). The offering to Bhūtas was thought necessary to please them in order to avoid their mis-behaviour.

In this age of Tantra we have a new thought of *Bhūtadāmara* where the word 'Dāmara' is interpreted as some thing miraculous. According to the thought of *Bhūta-dāmara* a miraculous power is gained by the worship of Tantric female deities by which a person can destroy the evil spirits. These evil spirits are habituated to trouble human beings, therefore Bali was offered and the idea of Bhūta-dāmara was a relief for mankind[6]. The similar idea is contained in the expression '*Santyāgārika*' of the Bengal records - the priest for propitiatory rites[7]. They would not only destroy the bad spirits but would be born in

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1. छादयति सूर्यं शशिनं महतो च भूच्छाया (आर्यभट्टीय)
2. Detailed discussion in the second part.
3. E. I. Vol. IV; Vol. VIII p. 154; Vol. XVIII p. 222; I. A. Vol. XV p, 8 and Vol. XVI 208.
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 156. Here the Khajurāho inscription records the association of lord Siva with Preta.
5. E. I. Vol. IV गंगायां विधिवत् स्नात्वा मंत्र देव मनुज मुनि भूत पितृगणां स्तर्पयित्वा
पिशाचेभ्यो बलिं दद्यात्संध्याकाले च नित्यशः--Brahma Purāna quoted by Lakshmidhar in Raja-dharma kānda (G, O. S. no c p. 176.)
6. Proceedings of 6th Oriental Conferenee p. 354.
7. Sundarban record of Lakshmaṇasena I. B. p. 168; Belva grant.

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the family of Brāhmaṇa or a king. This kind of blind faith and belief among people were widely current in the society and they worshipped different kinds of Tantric deities.

In early mediaeval society people had strong faith in omen, astrology and divination. It is strange to find that among state officers *Naimittika* (foreteller) held an important place. Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra deva had such a person who was a divinator and could explain omen[1]. From the grant of Rāmapāla we learn that Jyotiṣhi[2] by looking at the marks of a baby made the prophecy that child was destined to be a king[3]. Bāṇa has described the work of a Jyotishi at the court of Harsha in the similar manner. He speaks of a Bhojaka astrologer who predicated on Harsha's birth[4] and gives a list of omens believed by people[5]. In Bhuvaneśwara inscription we find the same type of work done by brāhmaṇas who had good knowledge of astrology and Tantra.[6]

Popular superstitions had made deep root in the heart of the people which is clear from miniature stupes erected by

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1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 97–110; Vol. VII p. 99 and Vol. XVIII p. 222.
   राजा राज्ञी युवराज मंत्री पुरोहित प्रतिहार सेनापति
   भण्डागारिक अक्षपटलिक भिषग् नैमित्तिक = पुरुषान्
2. नैमित्तिक and ज्योतिषी did the same work and employed for divination. They were given grants probably for this work (E. I. Vol. XIX p. 210) ; Elliot History Vol I p. 10.
3. E. I. Vol. XII p. 127.
4. Harshacharita–Uchchhvas II & IV
5. Ibid VI. It would not be out of place to mention that Marco Polo found many men learned in physiognomy. They paid attention to omens and were experts in telling what was good and bad. He further adds that as soon as the child is born, the father has a written note of its nativity namely year, month, day and hour. They regulate the actions according to the advice of astrologer. It shows that horoscope of the child was prepared by the astrologer. (The travels of Marco Polo p. 301–303)
6. E. I. Vol. VI p. 206.

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them (without any relic) after gaining their desired objects[1] in the period under review.

Muslim historian saw *Jyotishi* in the court of Lakshmaṇa sena for divination[2]. Some of the inscriptions from Bengal[3] informs that in order to ward off the effect of witch and evil spirits, the family priest was requested to perform propitiatory rites. This idea is supported by the figure of a witch found at Pāhāḍapura which has a wide open mouth pointing out the belief of the village folk in the witch craft[4].

Mythological ideas and the beliefs had their full influence on the mind of the artists and those were converted into the plastic art for practical purposes i. e. for the worship of the deities. We know that in Tāntric Buddhism the bliss or Bodhi can be obtained by Yoga in the company of Śakti (female counterpart). In advanced form of Tantrayāna which is called Vajrayāna or Kāla Chakrayāna, they have the conception of female force called by various names *Chāndāli. Yoginī or Sahaja Sundarī.* They are the enternal forces but not the worldly females. Thus we find in the early mediaeval schools of Indian Art several female deities being worshipped by Tantric believers. The most important deity is named Tārā who is described in the Nālandā inscription[5] as powerful goddess to dispel eight kinds of fear from the people. From 9th century to 12th century A. D. numerous images of Tārā were prepared in Bengal and similar stone or bronze images have come to light[6] from Bihar and Bengal. Mārichī[7] is the next tantric goddess in Ālidha position, which is the typical attitude of Tantric deities in angry form. She has petti-coat, held round by the girdle,

1. E. I. School of Med. Sculpture Pl. LXXXVIII
2. Elliot–History Vol II p. 308.
3. Belva grant ; Sundarban C. P. of Lakshmanasena (I. B. p. 168.)
4. A. S. M. no. 55 p. 66 pl. 50 (d)
5. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 97.
6. Bhattasali — Iconography in Dacca Museum Pls. XVII–XXIII
7. A. S. R. 1903–4 Pl. LXII no. 4.

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8 arms, and having three faces of which left one is that of boar. She has Vajra in her hand thus called Vajra-Vārāhī in the art. She is said to be the goddess of Dawn, probably the personified Śakti of Sun. The seven boars in the pedestal may be compared with seven horses of Sun. The worship of Śakti–the female counterpart of male deities–of Hinduism belongs to the same classes of Tāntrie cult. It was originated from Nālandā called Aṣṭa-matrikā[1]. The deities have the attribute and Vehicles of male counterpart and thus we can recognise the various goddesses of Hindu Tantrism. The last is Chamunda with garland of skull. In the epigraph Śakti is mentioned as Chandi Devi and widely worshipped in the eastern part of northern India[2]. Mahiṣāsurmardinī is also very important goddess where we can find the destruction of evil by divinity. She is worshipped throughout India. Here we fully believe in the mythology of Durgā that her worship would ward off the evil spirit and the wrath and might of supreme beneficence were roused to warfare with the spirit of evil. Other Tantric goddess was Maṅsādevi who protected the child from evil spirits. Her image with four hands and a child in her lap[3] has been found in Bengal, and in another image she has the snake hood[4]. Such is the case of another Tantric female deity – Ṣaṣṭhi, who is regarded as protectress of infants. She has the opposite character to Hāritī who is considered in Tantric sect as stealer of children. *Ṣaṣṭhi* is taken to the presiding deity over the function of 6th day of the child birth, so her name is appropriate and significant. The worship on the 6th day of child birth was the old ceremony and was in vogue in the past, but the form (Ṣaṣṭi-worship) i. e. Tantric worship was adopted in the period of Vajrayāna. Probably the worship of Ṣaṣṭi has

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1. A. S. R. 1903–4 Pl. LXII no. 1.
2. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 359.
3. A. S. M. no. 55 pl. 38 no. g
4. A. S. I. 1934–35 pl. XXIV b

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been continued in Eastern part or India and this worship is still common in Bihar and Bengal[1]. The image of Ṣaṣṭi is confined to eastern part of Northern India,[2] and we find that idea behind the Tantric worship is quite different from those of Hindu Paurāṇic conception.

(G) Games and Pastimes

The records of this period are not informative regarding the physical games and amusement of the people in the society. But it does not mean that the society was not alive to the need and did not recognise its important aspect in life. From whatever megre knowledge we have of this subject, it appears that people utilised their time in out door exercises and indoor games. Hunting occcupied the important place as a royal game and we cannot minimize its position for the want of sufficient data on this topic. We know that Rājpūta rulers were habituated to this game and horse was the favourite companion in the hunt. In this connection the popular type of ohind coin i. e. "Bull and Horseman type", may be cited as the proof of horse riding, which was very popular with later kings of early mediaevai dynasties. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to say anything regarding other games, but certain exercises were properly attended to. We have reference to the 'Superintendent of gymnasium[3]' and the scene of wrestling in the Pāhādpur plaques[4]. There it indicates that a person is trying to put the other down with his dextority. The other exercise that have noticed at Pahādpur is the acrobatic play which the sub-caste Naṭa used to perform as has already been mentioned in the ramification of castes.

The two kinds of indoor games have been referred to in the inscription and travel account of Alberuni. The record of Parmāra King Chamundarai dated 1078 A. D. mentions

1. Several images of Saṣṭhi have been found in Bihar and Bengal (E. I. school of M. S. pls. LXII–LXIV)
2. A. S. I. Vol. III p. 124.
3. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 194. 4. A. S. M. no. 55 pl. XXVI no. 31

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a tax on gambling houses[1] showing thereby that gambling was known in 11th century A. D. Besides it the Chess, according to Alberuni, was familiar with Indians[2]. In this context it may be stated that the modern word Śataranja (शतरंज) is a corrupt form of Chaturanga (चतुरंग) i. e. four parts of the army – infantry, cavalry elephants and chariots[3]. The Modern Śataranja has those parts of the game with minor changes. This game was learnt by Arabs from India and they replaced elephant by camel and chariot by boats as these two (elephant and chariot) were unknown in Arabia. There is no doubt that the chess was the Indian indoor game which was introduced in Arabia probably in 10th century A. D. and later on adopted by Indians in the new form. In Shāhnama it is mentioned that a special embassy came from Kanauj to present the Persian king with a chess.[4] Thus it is clear that the chess was the indigenous game of Indians and Arabs learnt it from this country.

The main source of amusement in the society was the music which according to Chāhamāna record consisted of instrumental, dancing and singing and which were necessary to be organised on the occasion of *Devayātrā*. This was a kind of festival when the deity was taken out in a procession (*Rathayātrā* was the name given to that function). Therefore it is safe to say that people knew the music. Lyre was the chief instrument of music besides others which are represented in the sculptures of this age. Pāhārpur plaques, Bhuvaneśwara and Khajurāho temple sculptures have the representation of several musical instrumens played by the people. Cymbal, gong, drum, lute, *Tabala*, *Mṛdanga* and *Jalataranga*[5] etc. were played by the musicians in those days. At the same place we find a female figure in dancing pose who is shown on double lotus pedestal[6]. Apart from musical

1. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 302 V. 75. 2. Sachau Vol. I p. 183.
3. Adiparva 69, 4 ; E. I. Vol. II p. 3 dated 1122 A. D.
(चतुरंग चमूप्रचार)
4. J. R. A. S. 1898 p. 129. 5. A. S. M. no. 55 pl. 51.
6. Ibid pl. 34 (a) no. 25.

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performances the artists of the age chistled the image of goddess of learning and music viz Sarswatī whose special emblem was Lyre. Therefore it can be stated that in this period from 700–1200 A. D. people knew the use of various musical instruments; dancing was also arranged on special occasions[1], and they amused themselves by music. In the higher section of the society birds were also kept in the cage and specially female played with them. Parrot was favourite bird with them and it has its own tradition in the history of Hindu society. It was not only the object of poetry but the subject for the Indian artists. The parrot in the Mathura school is prominently represented but it did not give any impetus to the sculptors of early mediaeval period. In the inscriptions, it has been mentioned that the females even in the miserable time (sighing in the palace) addressed their favourite parrots[2]. The same parrot in the cage was the source of amusement to the females as stated in the Khalimpur grant of Pāla king Dharmapāla[3], as if the parrot was singing the praise in the harem. Fishing was also a source of amusement in the society. From the examination of several Gāhāḍavāla and Chandela land grants it appears that people took pleasure in fishing. Though there is no direct mention of fishing and its method but the gift of the village was done along with fishery areas say tank and lake etc. The central portion of northern India (Bundelkhand) is full of lakes and tanks and the kings constructed such water places and donated them with the land. In Kamauli grants of Govinda Chandradeva we find the similar idea[4]. The same is mentioned in Kalachuri[5] record and in the Monghyr grant of Devapāla[6]. The

1. Detailed account in the part II chapter I (A)
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 209. सौधे सोच्छ्वसितं स्थित सकरुणं लीलाशुको व्याहृतो
   Parrots use to help in the study (Harshacharita. Uch. II)
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 248.
   लीला वेश्मनि पंजरोदर शुकैउद्गीतमात्मस्तवम् ।
4. E. I. Vol. IV P. 119; Vol VIII p. 154
   सजलस्थ सलोहलवणकार समत्स्याकार समधूक चूतवन
5. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 95. 6. Ibid Vol. XVIII p. 906.

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words *Sajala Samatsya* in the later grant leave no doubt as to the method of obtaining fishes from the area. The clear mention of the words *Samatsyā* indicates that the donee was authorised to fish from the water place in the village and the tax was also realised by him. Therefore it is beyond doubt that fishery was one of the amusements of the people. It is regretted that the devices of catching fish as langi etc. are unknown to us.

(H) Conveyances (Yāna)

Conveyances generally considered of bullock carts which is a very ancient means of transport in India. Commodities were carried from one place to another market on the bullock cart[1]. The carriage (Ratha) drawn by horses was the conveyance for higher class in the society. Several records from Rājputānā mention the *Rathayātrā* ceremony in which the people took part[2]. It was a religious ceremony when the image of God was put on the chariot and was taken out in procession. In another epigraph[3] it is called *Devayātrā*. Elephant and horses were important conveyances for the people and military equipment of the early mediaeval period. Muslim historian describes the sale of horse at Lakhanauti in mediaeval period (Elliot-History Vol. II p. 311). In Barah copper plate of Bhojadeva – the Pratīhāra king, ship, elephant, horse and chariot were taken as the important military equipment at the camp of Kanauj[4]. Similar idea can be had from the records of Govindachandradeva who is given the title of the lord of horses and elephants[5]. In Khalimpur grant[6] of Pāla ruler Dharmapāla, the inspector of horses and elephants has been mentioned among the state

1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 35. 2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 39. 3. Ibid p. 48.
4. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 17 : Elephants and horses arranged for military purpose (Bagh caves pl. D & E)
5. करितुरंगपत्तनाकार is mentioned in other Gāhadavāla records (E. I. Vol. VII p. 99 : Vol. XVII p. 222–6)
अश्वपति and गजपति were general titles.
6. E. I. Vol. IV

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officers. The same is the case with Nālandā grant of Devapāla[1] and Tarapandihi record of Lakshmaṇasena.[2]

Bengal inscriptions refer to water transport and one officer of boats (*Naubala*) who has been mentioned among the administrators of the state. The boat appears to be another means of transport along with horses and elephants[3]. Apsad inscription of Ādityasena alludes to naval engagement which took place on the bank of the Brahmaputra between Susthitvarman and later Gupta king Mahāsena Gupta. The Kamauli grant records a glorious naval victory which Vaidyadeva won over his enemy of South Vanga near the delta of the Ganga[4]. Thus it appears that in naval warfare boats were necessary. In Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla the word *Tarika* has been used for ferry man[5]. The other word is Naubātaka which is used for fleet of boats proceeding in the path of the Bhāgīrathi[6]. Devapārā praśasthi of Vijayasena[7] mentions the word Nauvitāna in the same meaning. Thus it is definite that people used boat not merely as conveyance or part of Naval force but for carrying articles of trade also. In Bengal boats are very essential on account of heavy rains and networke of rivers and hence Bengalis especially East Bengal people are regarded as good sailors.

In Rājputānā due to the climatic reason camel was used as conveyance and even goddess was taken in procession on the back of camel[8]. We have no further detailed knowledge of the various methods of the use of these conveyances in the epigraphs. The simple description of elephant, chariot and horses as the means of transport, is also found in Ausanas Smṛti where a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to use these conveyances with the permission of the king[9].

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1. Nālandā and Monghyr grants (E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 325 and I. A. Vol. XXI p. 254.)
2. E. I. Vol. XII p. 8.
3. E. I. Vol. XII p. 8.
4. E. I. Vol. II p. 351.
5. I. A. Vol. XV p. 306.
6. E. I. Vol. IV p. 249.
7. Ibid Vol. I. p. 309.
8. A. . I. 1930 pl. II
9. Ausanasa smriti V. 25.
अश्वं रथं हस्तिनं वा वाहयेद्वै नृपाज्ञया

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These elephant and horses continued in use in common life and the rulers used them also in hunting. The horse was favoured due to his quick movement and hence was the popular subject for the artists of this period. Chariot was replaced by bullock cart in the society where it became very common conveyance with village folk and was also used for transport of the commodities.

(I) Social Gathering

Social gathering was an important organisation in ancient India and it had many fold functions. The *Samāja* and *Pariṣads* were functioning from the centuries before the christian era, but the society in this period had many different kinds of social functions and so people organised separate gathering on particular occasions. In broad outline it can be divided in two sections:

(i) Religious or ceremonial gathering and (ii) Social or popular assembly. The first would be dealt with in next section but as regards the second the records speak of two seasonal gatherings. The one, called festival of lamp[1] was held after the rains and was organised by the people near the temple. The second was more popular and is mentioned as festival of chaitra[2]. It was the time for merry making and people enjoyed it to a high degree. The very name points out that it was the period of *Vasant,* when music and dance were arranged by the people. The detailed description is wanting in the records but the sculptures supply us with the scene of dance and musical performances. From the study of the inscription it appears that the large expense was incurred on this function and the ruler imposed some tax on the traders to meet it. The tax mentioned was for the festival of chaitra i. e. for the (*Vasantotsava*).[3]

In Jalor inscription of Samar Singh Deva we have a description of golden cupola which was fixed on the newly

1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 55. दीपोत्सव
2. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 101 (वसन्तोत्सव)
3. E. I. Vol. XIV p 298.

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made central hall for dramatic performances[1]. It shows that dramatic halls were constructed for the social gathering and for attending dramatic functions. In this connection it may be stated that during this Period many books on drama were composed and the names of Bhavabhūti (8th Cent. A. D.) and Rājashekhar (9th Cent. A. D.) may be cited as noted writers. Hence it is just possible that people might have staged some drama in social gathering.

Besides these annual gatherings, cattle fairs were held where people used to assemble for purchasing the animals. In one inscription from Karnal district (The Punjab) it is mentioned that horse dealers used to assemble in the cattle fair as that area abounds with horses[2]. Similar was the case with Rajaputāna where horse was used as main vehicle in the social life or in the warfare. Pahewa record of Pratīhāra Bhoja[3] dated 883 A. D. mentions that horse fair was held along with a festival and the horse dealers coming from distant areas had to pay a tax. Another epigraph of the same region states that tax was paid by the parties in the transaction of selling of horses[4] at the time of horse fair and one Dramma was given as tax to the goddess in charity.

These references go to point out that in the Punjab and Rājaputānā regions horses fair was held where horse, mules, mare and other animals were sold. From the study of travels of Arab historians it appears that during early mediaeval period the Arabs had the control over the maritime trade on the Arab sea. The sea-borne trade includes the import of horses from Arabia to Sindh[5] and from there the Arabian ponies were sent to Rājaputāna or to the Punjab. Probably this was the reason that the horse dealers assembled in the fairs of these areas where the animals were purchased and sold.

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p, 55. अभिनव निष्पंन्न प्रेक्षा सभामण्डप
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 186.
3. Ibid p. 184.
4. Ibid pp. 29, 33. (छोटकयात्रायां समायात————रुपादिविक्रय घोडा विक्रय-दा १ —प्रदत्तं)
5. Arab aur Bharata ka Sambandha by Sulaiman Nadavi p. 47-49.

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CHAPTER VI

Religious trends and toleration

The period (700–1200 A. D.) under discussion was the age of diverse religious tendencies; the age of multiplicity of sects and subsects; the age of esoteric practices and the age of Mantra and devotion in all the religious movements. It was the time when the people stride for salvation and three different paths were followed by them. The first was '*karma marga*' which was common to all sects and among the devotees of all gods. The second path for the attainment of salvation was that of *Jñāna*. Though the Veda has emphasised the value of action, but before the theory of metempsychosis it became apparent to logical mind that *Karma* could not lead to deliverence and freedom. It was soon taken up by the people outside the Madhyadeśa occupied by Kshatriya and non-Brāhmaṇas. The third path for liberation was that of *Bhakti margs* in which we find the dedication of everything to god's service. Besides the acts of worship, fasts, pilgrimage, penances, chanting of mantra and name and charity (dāna) drew the attention of every section of society. These were the deeds to win the favour of gods. This kind of *Bhakti* had the parallel development in all the system of this age.

The *Nāma-bhakti* i. e. chanting of name of God was one of the ways of worship where the devotees pronounced several names of gods which are mentioned in the records of the period under review. In the epigraphs of Hindu rulers, Viṣṇu has been given different names such as Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa or Mādhava and Śiva is known as Sadāśiva, Mahādeva and Nilkaṇṭha etc.

The Hinduism which thus triumphed over the heterodox sects was essentially different from the Brāhmanical religion of pre-Buddhistic period. Though theoretically it was based on old vedic system, it had many characteristic feature of

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its own. The chief characteristic of the new religion was the predominance of theistic principles which gave rise to Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

The revival of Hinduism was marked by the performance of Śrauta sacrifices. The diffusion of Vedic culture in this period is proved by epigraphic evidences since the Gupta period. The references to the Vedic sacrifices in the official documents are not two many[1], but the negative aspect of the records are not conclusive. The grants of the period under review (referred to above in the chapter III) contain the names of a large number of Brāhmaṇas throughout the northern India, who studied different vedic Śākhās of Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Sāma Veda. Most of these inscriptions refer to grants of lands to Brāhmaṇas, which were considered an act of piety leading to the increase of religious merits (*Puṇya*) of the donors. The objects of these grants were to meet the defraying expenses of daily worship of Brāhmanical gods. Reference is made in one of these records to the settlement of Brāhmaṇas versed in four Vedas[2], Vedānga and Mimansa etc. who were capable of performing Vedic sacrifices[3]. The analysis of kalachuri grants reveals that most of the grants were made to Brāhmaṇas intended for maintenance of five great sacrifices[4]. In the 11th and 12th centuries of the Christian era the Vedic culture made great headway in Bengal under the patronage of Sena kings.

For ordinary mind the religion was full of rites and ceremonies. The ethical code would not appeal to the

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1. A Gurjara record refers to the grant for purpose of performing पंच महायज्ञ, वैश्यदेव and अग्निहोत्र etc. (E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 152)
वलिचरुवैश्यदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि पंच (विम्हा) यज्ञादि क्रियोत्सप्रा
The Chāhamāna document mentions sacrifices according to Yajurveda (E. I. Vol. XI p. 306.)
The Sena epigraph refers to Abhiseka in the reign of Vijayasena (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 156.)
2. Tippera Copp. plate (E. I. Vol. XV p. 307, 311)
3. Bhagalpur grant (I. A. Vol. XV p. 804 H)
4. C. I. I. Vol. IV Intord. P. C XLIX

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masses and hence *Mantra* (the short syllable adopted in the Tantric religion) and *Mudrā* were introduced for the realisation of ultimate Truth. Fundamental theological position of Buddhist and Hindu Tantras thus became the same and there was no essential difference between Tantricism of Hinduism and those of Buddhism. The subject matter of Tantra includes the esoteric Yoga and magic etc. The ultimate reality possesses two aspects in its fundamental nature represented in Hinduism with Śiva and Śakti and Upāya and prajñā in the Buddhist faith.

The most important aspect of Hindu faith was the worship of Brahmanical deities. It was held in esteem by every section of people belonging to upper strata of Hindu society. Predominently Brāhmanism manifested into three religious sects viz. (A) Vaiṣṇava (B) Śaiva aud (C) Śākta. The discovery of several Vaiṣṇava images in northern India during this period and references of Viṣṇu worship in the inscriptions of different dynasties prove that Viṣṇu enjoyed the prominent place among the Hindu gods. Even in the record of Parama Saugata Dharmapāla the gift was made to Nan-Nārāyaṇa[1]. If we survey the grants of Sena ruler Lakshmaṇa Sena, the eclecticism becomes quite clear and one would gather that in the 12th century A. D. the king gradually leaned towards Vaiṣṇavism. The famous poet Jayadeva also sang the same kind of Vaiṣṇava songs. It is very significant fact that several names of Viṣṇu and Śiva donor occur in the epigraphs of pre-Harsh age, but they are found in the dynastic inscriptions of early mediaeval period only. The cult of Viṣṇu attracted the attention of the people to a greater degree and the popular mind found satisfaction in the stories of gods and the various forms assumed by Viṣṇu.

The lord śiva was also the prominent god of this age and was worshipped by all sections of society. In this period of Tantrayāna Śiva-Śakti was the main theme of Hinduism comparable to Upāya and Prajñā of Buddhism. Therefore Śakti came to occupy a very important place into

1. Khalimpur plate (E. I. Vol. IV)

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the heirarchy of gods. Śakti was closely associated with Śiva so Śakti was worshipped along with Śiva. Śaivism eclipsed the growth of Śaktim in religious worship but it was a living faith in Brahmanical fold. This cult of Śakti now gained prominence and the followers were called Śāktas. Hence we find the references of Śakti worship in the records and numerous images of this female deity have been found in Eastern India[1]. Besides these three Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti, Surya and Gaṇesha were added to the list and a new thought occupied the mind ending in the form of *Panchāyatan Pūja.* several records, land grants and historical documents mention the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Sārya and Gaṇesha, but the word *Panchdeva* or *Panchāyatana* had not been mentioned any where. A very illuminating reference is found in the Chedi record (12th century A. D.) describing the worship of the above five gods with separate names[2]. The benefactor Gangadhara built a Śiva temple and other shrines for Viṣṇu and Gaṇesha. In the fortress the image of Durgā was installed while another shrine was dedicated to Sūrya. The Pratāpgarh inscription of Prātīhāra king Mahendrapāla speaks of the same kind of worship i.e. in the same family all the five gods (Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Sūrva and Gaṇesha) were worshipped by different kings[3]. Though Śaktideva worshipped Viṣṇu, but his successor paid homage to Śiva and hence called Parma Māheśwar. The third king Nāgabhatta was devotee of Durgā (Śakti) and later rulers have been described as worshippers of Sun, Śiva and Bhagwatī (female deity). The Barah plate of Bhoja (836 A. D.) informs the same thing. One member of royal family worshipped Viṣṇu, second worshipped Śiva, third Bhagwatī and forth followed the cult of Āditya[4]. Similar reference are found in Gāhaḍavāla grants where king had the tittle of Parama Māheśwara but he prays Lakshmi

1. Iconography in Dacca Museum Plates LXIV–LXXII
2. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 160–1.
3. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 178.
4. E.I. Vol. XIX

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(wife of Viṣṇu) and Gaṇesha. In Kamauli grants[1] Gāhaḍavāla kings are said to have made gifts after worshipping Sun, Śiva and adorning Yāsudeva (Viṣṇu). The king Chandradeva of the family worshipped Sūrya, Śiva and Viṣṇu[2] alike though the prelude opens with prayer to Śri. The symbols of Garuḍa and Shell connote that the record was Vaiṣṇavite. Such is the case with Pāla and Sena documents. The prayers for Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durga[3] in our record go to show the popular worship of these deities in the period under review. Even Buddha Gaya Prasasti of Buddhist monarch Dharmapāla points out the same states of affairs. The stone of this inscriptiom bears the image of Viṣṇu and Sūrya[4]. Badal Pillar record of Nārāyaṇapāla describe the erection of Garuḍadhwaja[5] while Bhagalpur grant records the construction of temples[6] of Śiva by the same Pāla ruler. During Sena period Viṣṇu and Śiva were worshipped by the kings and the subject. Invocation of lord Śiva in the Sena grants along with the seal of Sadāśiva[7] proves the following of Śiva cult while the *Mantra*, the title Parama Vaiṣṇava[8] for Lakshmaṇa Sena and the prelude of the record[9] inform that the god Viṣṇu was also worshipped by the king[10]. The Successor of Sena king Viśvarupa Sena called himself Parama Saur (worshipper of Sūrya) while his epigraph bears the seal of Śiva called Sadāśiva and opens with invocation of Nārāyaṇa[11].

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1. I. H. Q. Vol. V p. 26.
2. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 192.
3. I. A. Vol. XXI p. 169.
4. J. A. S. B. Vol. IV p. 101.
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 160.
6. I. A. Vol. XV p. 309.
7. E. I. Vol. XVI; J.A. S.B. Vol. X p. 19; I. B. p.81-91
8. E. I. Vol. XII p. 6–10; J. A. S. B. 1900 Vol. LXIX p. 61.
9. भगवन्तं श्रीमन् नारायण भट्टारकमुद्दिश्य
10. J. A. S. B. Vol. XLIV p. 61.
11. I. H. Q. Vol. X (C. P. of Keshava Sena)

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Thus we find the popularity of Panchāyatan Pūjā i.e. worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Durgā and Gaṇesha[1]. In Gupta period we find the artistic specimens of these gods and this continued down to the 12th century A. D. in excellent manner. Inumerable images of these five gods have been discovered throughout the northern India[2], especially carved in the style of Eastern school of Indian sculpture, pointing out to the following of these deities from 700–1200 A. D.

In the Tantric form of Buddhism the gradual decline was visible. Before 8th century A. D. Tantrayāna had its own sphere and various forces were working in different centres. The origin of Tāntric pantheon was due to the influence of Hinduism but large number of Vajrayāna images go to prove the popularity of the faith during the Pāla period[3]. In the very beginning the religious and philosophical views of the Hindus were vehemently criticised by Buddhists in the centres of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā. The artists of Buddhist faith prepared (in early part of Pāla perlod) a few images showing the humiliation of Brahmanical gods by Buddhist deities[4]. It is wonder that Pāla records donot reflect such antegonistic feeling but otherwise show full toleration in the society. Except the Buddhist text Sādhanamālā no literary evidence supports the said humiliation of Hindu gods. Had there been such a strong feeling, it might have been reflected in Brahmanic literature or in Hindu iconography of the age. Therefore in the absence of additional support only 1/10 p. c. of Buddhist images (humiliating Hindu deities) cannot be taken as proof to suggest antegonistic views of Buddhist towards Hinduism. After a very short period that tinge too was removed when Buddha was adopted as

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1. Detailed study in the suceeding pages.
2. E. I. school of Med. sculpture plates – XLII–XLIV; XLV–XLVIII LIV–LVI; LIX, LX; LXVI–LXVII
3. Iconography of Dacca Museum plates III–XXV and Kurkihara bronzes.
4. Trailokya Vajra and Aparājita trumpling Śiva–Pārvatī and Gaṇesha respectively.

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Avatāra of Viṣṇu by Hindus. In Antarāvedi, Buddhism had ceased to have much following and in Uttar Pradesh less number of Buddhistic images are found of this period. In Bengal from the very age of Pālas Buddhism was not gaining ascedency but was on the wane in North Bengal. Kambojas (10th century A. D.).from Himalaya region came to North Bengal and were attracted towards Brahmanism. Dīnājapur inscription records the erection of Śiva temple by Kamboja king[1]. Perhaps due to their attachment to Hindu deity they were welcomed by the people.[2] The Sena kings were devotees of Śiva and Viṣṇu but the latter attracted more than the former. We find that Vaiṣṇavism effected Sahajiya so much that it was named Vaiśṇava – Sahajiya cult; and Vaiṣṇava songs were chanted by Jayadeva in *Gitagovinda* and by the later saints like Chaitanya and others.

It is unfortunate that we donot find any evidence of Jainism in the land of its birth. Through Brahmanical preceptor, Jains learnt the method of worship and some Hindu kings also donated lands to the Jain temples, still it went on declining. In Rājaputānā and Gujarāta Jainism survived and to this day the Jain temples of Khajurāho speak the prevalence and popularity of Jain sect in the central India. The literary evidences also go to show its following in Gujarāta.

Toleration

Before closing the discussion of religious trends of this age a few remarks about the religious toleration would not be out of place here. The study of dynastic records and charitable grants reveals that catholicity had reached its highest water mark during the period under review. In this age (700–1200 A. D.) religious toleration was the creed and hence public and state officers had the freedom to worship any deity without any state interference. Due to the universal policy of non-interference in the religious affairs, different

1. J. A. S. B. (N. S.) Vol. VII p. 615.
2. E, I. Vol. XXII p. 150,

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sects of Brāhmaṇa Dharm, Jains and the Buddhist flourished simultaneously. There are not a few instances of this kind but the catholic spirit had made its home in parts of northern India. The Marwār record of the son of Alhan deva opens with the prayer of Viṣṇu and Śiva but mentions the grant in the favour of Jain temple in 1160 A. D.[1]. The Chāhamāna rock inscription records the erection of Pārsvanath temple, though the family deity was Viṣṇu[2]. It has reached its climax at Khajurāho where Chandela kings allowed Jain temples by the side of Viṣṇu and Śiva[3] shrines. We know that Smṛti writers emphatically deny such association but still the Pārśwanāth temple is situated near Kandariya Mahādeva at Khajurāho. The Gāhaḍavāla kings are famous for their eclectic beliefs and catholic spirits. The kings were followers of Viṣṇu but had the title of Parama Māheśwara i.e. worshipper of Śiva. Beside it, they showed some kind of patronage to Buddhism. For example Govindachandra deva assigned several villages to holy Jetavana for the support of monks living there[5]. The grant was made on 15 day of bright Āṣāḍha after regular procedure of Dāna[6], He also married Kumāradevī who followed the Buddhist faith[7]. The inscription of a king reigning in the middle of 8th century A. D. shows that the Brāhmaṇas by no means were hostile to Buddhist creed as an individual named Surya Ghosa is said to have built a temple of Muni (Buddha) for crossing the mundane existence[8]. The Kalachuri inscription[9] from Kasia is a very interesting document to study the toleration in Madhyadeśa. Though we find the Mantra '*Namo Buddhaya*' in the

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1. I. A. Vol. 40 p. 145.
2. E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 87.
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 125.
4. न च सीमान्तरं गच्छेन्नाश्मशानं जिनालयम् (प्रजापति स्मृति 95)
5. E. I. Vol. XI p. 20–4.
6. विहारान्तर मर्यादा परिभोगार्थम् (E. I. Vol. XI pp. 20–4)
7. Sarnath record of Kumāradevī
8. Nagapur Museum Record J. R. A. S. 1905 p. 619.
9. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 130 : C. 1. 1. Vol IV pt II p. 377.

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beginning, the first verse[1] contains the prayer of Śiva and the third has the prayer for Tārā[2]. Turning towards Eastern India from Madhyadesh and Rajputana we find the same religious toleration prevailed among the Pāla rulers of Bengal. The erection of Viṣṇu[3] and Śiva[4] temples by Dharmapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla respectively have already been referred to. In Bangad record[5] of Mahipāla it has stated that king in the name of lord Buddha donated land to Brāhmaṇas named Kṛṣṇāditya Śarmana according to Hindu rites. The Pāla ruler Vigrahapāla III though had assumed the title of Parama Saugata (a Buddhist by faith) showed toleration in giving donation to a Brāhmaṇa of Sandilya Gotra (learned in Mīmānsā and Vyākarṇa) after bathing in the Ganga and on the occasion of lunar eclipse[6]. This gift was made in the honour of Buddha Bhattāraka[7] whereas the epigraph of his successor Madanapāla records the grants as fee for reading the epic – Mahābhārata[8].

The above analysis of the epigraphs shows that Buddhists and Hindus were showing respeet to the deities of either religion. There is an illuminating example of toleration found in the icon of early mediaeval period known by the name of *Harihara Murti.* It appears that among Hindus, Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas had some tinge of rivalry and they criticised the views of either sects. In the Harihara form of image the artists made the device to show half Viṣṇu and half Śiva figures to reconcile the differences. Thus the image of Harihara has a historic importance. It reminds one of conciliatory attitude of the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. In the iconographic form the one half has *Kirittmukuta, Banmāla* and one of the four emblems of Viṣṇu, while in other half we

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1. पायात्रि पर्व्व प्रभव भयभिदःशास्वतं शङ्करस्य (Ibid)
2. विभ्राणा भवतां सुखानि तनुतां तारा त्रिलोकेश्वरी (Ibid)
3. Khālimpur grant (E. I. Vol. IV) 5. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 324–30
4. Bhagalpur grant (I. A. Vol XV) 6. I. A. Vol. XIV p. 166–8
7. भगवतं बुद्धभट्टारकमुद्दीश्य (Ibid)
8. Dharma Chakra as symbol and the syllable ओं नमो बुद्धाय shows that it was a Buddhist record (J. A. S. B. Vol. 69 p. 66)

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find *Jatāmukta*, snake garland, *Mundamālā* and *Trisūla*. Thus the image is very significant and it ended the the rivalry among the two prominent sects – Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. The representation of Ḥari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva) gave the name of the icon as Harihara image[1]. In Bihar, Rājaputānā and Bengal such images have been discovered[2] in sufficient numbers.

Besides the Harihara icon several references in the dynastic records also testify to the prevailing condition of toleration. The inscriptions of Madyadeśa describe the worship of Nārāyaṇa by the Parama Māheśwara kings[3]. There the prayer has been offered to Paśupati. Similarly in a Vaiṣṇava record[4] the king is said to be the worshipper of Bhavānīpati[5]. In Bengal the Sena epigraphs begin with Vaiṣṇava manta – *Om Namo Nārāyaṇāya*, but the preludes open with the prayer of Śiva[6] and the image of Sadāśiva[7] is engraved at the top of the plate. Thus we find change in the attitude and documentary evidences supplement the iconic representation.

Therefore it is clear that (and can be said without doubt) toleration prevailed in the religious field throughout the northern India.

The spirit of catholicism was not confined to the sects of India but wide and sympathetic toleration was extended to muslim also. The mohemmadons came to India and carried trade and commerce but after their victory they demolished temples and enslaved thousands of Hindus[8]. The behaviour of Hindus was not so brutal and some time the

1. E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 5.
2. E. Ind. school of Med. Sculpture pl. C II (d)
3. E. I. Vol. VII p. 96; I. H. Q. Vol. V p. 26 : E. I. Vol. XII p. 24
4. The presence of Garuda figure is a positive proof of Vaisnava record.
5. E. I. Vol. XI p. 181.
6. J. A. S. B. 1900 Vol. LXIX p. 61.
7. Ibid Vol. XLIV p. 11 : E. I. Vol. XII p. 6–10.
8. Elliot History Vol. I p. 170. 176 and 182.

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Indian monarch permitted the erection of mosque for them[1]. The imitation of Hindu deity[2] on the coin of Mohammad-bin-Sām was in no way to express honour for Hinduism but it was political move, because the same sultan later on removed the figures of Lakshmi and the bull from his coins[3]. It was on account of universal spirits of toleration that neither the muslim conquest nor the Vandalism could change the attitude of Hindus towards the followers of Islam. In return the Hindu kings were not in a mood to inflict similar uncivilities upon the muslim inhabitants.

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1. Ibid p. 27 and 88.
2. The symbol of bull was for Śiva.
3. The coinage of Sultans of Delhi by wright p. 6–7. First there was the adoption of Kanauj coin with Lakshmi on the obverse and the legend in Nagari श्री महमदविन साम. Secondly the sultan imitated bull and Chauhāna horseman along with his name (श्री महमद सामि) in Nāgarī on the obverse and on the reverse (Ibid pl. I No. 4 and 10) It should be noted that श्री हम्मीर is Nāgarī equivalent to persian Amir (Ibid p. 67) In the end the name of Sultān appears in Arabic characters without the figure of Hindu deities. (Ibid pl. I no. 37.)

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CHAPTER VII

Vaiṣṇavism

Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. Inspite of his subordinate position in Vedic period, Viṣṇu began to rise in importance in the time of Brāhmanas; while during epic and Paurāṇic periods He rose to the rank of supreme deity. In the Puranic times the three streams of religious thoughts namely Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva mingled together and formed the later Vaiṣṇavism. Harshcharita[1] makes separate mention of Bhāgavata and Pancharātrikas who were devotees of Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva respectively, but later on both were amalagameted identifying Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva, who were worshipped alike in the period under review. Khalimpur grant mention temple of Nun-Nārāyaṇa[2] and many other records open with the syllable *'Om Namo Nārāyaṇāya'*[3]. Similar is the case of *Dvādaśākshara mantra.*[4] Some of the image inscription reveals the name of Vāsudeva[5] and such images are common in the period from 1000-1200 A. D. This indicates that no distinction was made between Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva. Vaiṣṇavism made rapid progress during early mediaeval period and the development of Vaiṣṇavism is proved by large number of epigraphic records. Good many Viṣṇu images of this period have been discovered in northern India corroborating the evidences of the inscriptions. Thus it appears that from 5th century down to 12th century A. D. Vaiṣṇavism was a prominent sect of Brahmanism. The doctrines of Vaiṣṇavism, however, underwent some important

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1. Harsh-charita Uchchhvas VIII
2. E. I. Vol. IV
3. Ibid Vol. XXVI p. 5 : Vol. XII p. 7 : J. A. S. B. 1900; Vol. V p. 467.
4. ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय occures in several inscriptions. (E. I. Vol. I p. 124; p. 173 and 209 : Ibid Vol. II p. 359.)
5. Vāsudeva image inscription (E. I. Vol. XXVII p. 27 वासुदेव भट्टारक)

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changes. In the first place, Vaiṣṇavism made a contribution to the systemetisation of Avatāra[1] during this period. Though the origin of this conception may be traced to the early period of the christian era, it played a very important part during this age (700–1200 A. D.). (The literary evidences vary with regards to the form of Avatāras of Viṣṇu and they are variously given by different authorities. In the Nārāyaṇiya section of Mahābhārata only six[2] are given. Vāyupurāṇa gives the incarnations in two passages (Chap. 97 and Chap. 98). In the first the number is twelve but in the second the number ten is made up by adding four[3] to the six mentioned above. This number (10) is also given in *Matsya* (Chap. 285) and *Varāha Purāṇa.* In the Bhāgawata Purāṇa we have three different lists[4] of Viṣṇu incarnations which includes Ṛṣabha (the first Tirathankara of Jains) and the Buddha. The study of the records and icons shows that some of the Avatāras like Varāha, Vāmana etc were worshipped in Gupta age, but an attempt at systematisation was first made in our period and it was Jayadeva who mentioned ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu (Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasinha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki) in his *Gitagovinda.* This has since been the standard list of Avatāras and has been widely accepted by all. The images of viṣṇu found in Bengal corroborate the list of Jayadeva and some time we find miniature representation of those ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu[5] depicted on the two sides of main figure. Several square slabs of stone or metal called Viṣṇu-Pattas also support the above list. One

1. Dr. Raychaudhari (Early history of the Vaiṣṇava sect p. 176.) thinks that Vyuhavāda disappears with the rise of the worship of Avatāras.
2. Boar, Manlion. the dwarf. Rāma, Rāma Dāsarathi, Vāsudeva and Kriṣṇa.
3. Dattātreya, unnamed, Vedavyās and Kalkina.
4. Twentytwo (Chap. 3); Twenty three (Chap. 7) and 16 in Chap. 4.
5. Iconography in Dacca museum p. 98 pl. XXVI (b) Brahmanical images in Mathura Art p. 17 no. 1569.

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side of the slabs we find the image of Viṣṇu and on the other side his ten incarnations occupy the whole space[1] (Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Rāma, Parasurāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki).

The next great change in the Vaiṣṇavism was the addition of new life of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. The movement of child Kṛṣṇa and other phases of his life are found carved in the Pāhāḍapur plaques[2] and the same Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult has been chanted by Jayadeva.

The numerous reference to Viṣṇu images and Avatāras of Viṣṇu in the official documents, the mention of gifts to various Viṣṇu temples and for image worship clearly show the popularity of Viṣṇu cult in the period under review. The worship of the diety ordinarily signifies the devotion to the anthopomorphic form (Saguṇa) but we find prayers of lord Viṣṇu in his Nirguṇa form also mentioned in the dynastic records of northern India.

It should be noticed with interest that Pratīhāra and Kalachurī inscriptions only contain the conception of Nirguṇa and Saguṇa (anthopomorphic form) forms of Viṣṇu. In Jodhapur record of Pratīhāra Bhoja, the house of Viṣṇu in the sereglio of the king has been described and in that connection Viṣṇu (famous by the name of Hṛshikesha) has been called Saguṇa and Nirguṇa[3]. Similarly, some of the Kalachurī epigraphs[4] opens with the prayer of Brahma as Nirguṇa and all pervading.

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1. Ibid plate XXXV
2. Gobardhan, carrying away Kṛisna and uprooting Arjuna tree depicted on pl. XXVIII and XXIX and cult of Radha Kṛiṣṇa (Pl. XXVII (C) of A. S. Memoir no. 55.
3. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 95 V. I
   यास्मिन् विशन्ति भूतानि यत्सर्गस्थितीमते
   स वः पायाद् हृषीकेशो निर्गुणस्सगुणश्चयः
   The epigraph opens with mantra—ओं नमो विष्णवे
4. Jabalpur plate of Yasahkarṇa (E. I. Vol. II p. 3.)
   Goharwa plate (E. I. Vol. XI P. 1.)

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He was blissful and the cause of this universe[1]. Further we find that the Purāṇas offer new Saguṇa and anthopomorphic nuclei for religious devotion, still people paid homage to Nirguṇa form of Viṣṇu. The Paurānic deities became popular gods of the masses. Our epigraphic records bear eloquent testimony to the popularity of Viṣṇu and his Avatārās.

The critical study of the different epigraphs of the early mediaeval dynasties reveals that owing to the patronage of Vaiṣṇava faith by the kings, the royal records open with syllables pertaining to the different names of viṣṇu. Whatever deities had been evoked on the occasion, they reigned supreme in the daily life of people.

Different Names of Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇu was worshipped in the different names which become apparant in the syllable itself. Besides the famous *Dvadaśākshara Mantra* of Vaiṣṇava religion[2], Vaiṣṇu was evoked under various names—Murāri[3], Hari[4] and Mādhava.[5] These names occur in the very beginning in the form of syllable (Mantra) connoting that the record in question is the vaiṣṇavite grant. The name Viṣṇu or Viṣṇu Bhattārk also found the place in the inscriptions[6] with the following prayer[7]:—

शेषाहितल्पधवलाधर भोगमासि
वक्षःस्थलोल्लसित कौस्तुभ कांति शोणम्
श्यामां वपुः शशि विरोचन विम्बचुम्बि
व्योम प्रकाशमवतान्नरकद्विशो वः।

Nārāyana was also a popular name among the thousand names

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1. निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यशिवं परमकारणम्
भाव ग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे नमः।
(Sarkho plate of Ratnadeva E. I. Vol. 22 p. 164 Verse 1.)
2. ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय occur in several inscriptions (E. I. Vol. I 124; p. 173 and 208; Vol. II p. 359.
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 163. 4. J. A. S. B. 1887 Vol. VI p. 881–7.
5. ओं नमो माधवाय (E. I. Vol. VI p. 16 and P. 242)
6. ओं नमो विष्णवे (E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 107) 7. Ibid.
8. ओं नमो नारायणाय (J. A. S. B. 1909. Vol. V p. 467 : E. I Vol. XXVI p. 5 and Vol. XII p. 7.)

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of Viṣṇu but Hari[1], Hṛṣikesh[2] and Vāillabhaṭṭa[3] Svāmī are casually mentioned. Siyadoni record supplies another name of Viṣṇu as Chakraswāmī[4] while Khalimpur grant adds a new name Nana Nārāyaṇa[5] to the list. From the study of Viṣṇu iconography it appears that a black stone image of the period under review was known by the name of Trivikrama.[6] It is also supported by the record[7] of Jaipaladeva describing the building of the temple of Viṣṇu called Trivikrama. The name Adikeshava for Viṣṇu is frequently mentioned in the records of Gāhaḍavāla kings and good many donations were given to Brāhmaṇa[8] near Ādikeshava. Thus our records contain the above names of Viṣṇu out of thousands name of this God mentioned in *Viṣṇu-Sahaśranāma.*

Viṣṇu Temples

The epigraphic records of our period supply ample data to have a clear picture of Vaiṣṇava movement in northern India. The beginning syllable and prelude of the Praśasti point out that the donor was the follower of Vaiṣṇaviṣm and the further examination of the grants reveals the main purpose of the record. In many inscriptions the construction[9] of the Viṣṇu temples with lofty spires and installation of deity have been narrated. In donative record the gift was made for upkeep of temple or for the worship of the temple deity. The designations of Parama Vaiṣṇava assumed by Sena kings would show the special leaning to the Vaiṣṇavite cult and testify to the following of Vaiṣṇava faith.

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1. J. A. S. B. Vol. VI p. 881. 2. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 95.
3. E. I. Vol. I, 159. वाइल्लभट्ट स्वामयभिधान विष्णु
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 177
5. Ibid Vol. IV p. 246.
6. Pāla and Sena sculptures no. 39 & 50 : A. S. I. A. R. 1924–25 pl. 39.
7. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 285. 8. Kamauli grants (E. I. Vol. IV p. 118.)
9. E. I. Vol, I p. 159, 186 & 197 : I. A. XVIII p. 15 (1099 A.D.) and E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 270.

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The Chandela records have excellent description of the Viṣṇu temples. Bateswar inscription of Parmardi[1] describes temple of Viṣṇu lofty like Kallasa while Khajurāho record contains the following lines[2] :—

> ने नैतच्चारु चामीकर कलसत्नसद्व्योम धाम व्यधापि
> भ्राजिष्णु प्रांशुवंशध्वजपट (पटलां) दोलितां (भोज) वृन्दम् ।
> देत्यारातेस्तुषार क्षितिधर शिखर स्पर्द्धिवर्द्धिष्णु रागा
> दृष्टे यात्रासु यत्रत्रिदिव वसतयो विस्मयन्ते समेता : ॥

The famous centre of Khajurāho is noted for its beautiful architectures and many Viṣṇu temples are still existing there. Probably it was due to the patronage of Chandela rulers that magnificient temples were built at that place. The adoption of goddess Lakshmi or Śri on the reverse side of Kalachuri coins is also not without significance. Gāngeyadeva Chedi issued gold coins with effigy of Śri—consort of Viṣṇu, and this Gāngeyadeva type was copied by many kings of later dynasties. The minister Someswer of the Chedi king Lakshamaṇarāja built a Viṣṇu temple which drew the attention of donors[3]. The Pratīhāra kings were not less enthusiastic and many Viṣṇu temples were erected by them[4]. Betama grant of Paramāra Bhojadeva describes a flying banner of Garuḍa[5] which must have been placed before a Viṣṇu temple. Thus these references prove that Vaiṣṇavism was a living faith in the western part of Northern India, while Eastern region did not lack behind. The erection of temple of Nana Nārāyaṇa in the reign of Dharmapāla[6] attests to the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavadharma. In the time of Nārāyaṇapāla a Garaḍa Dwaja was erected[7] probably before a Viṣṇu temple. In Eastera India Bhuvaneśwara was the famous centre of Hindu shrines and the temple of Anant Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu temple) was built in 12th century A.D.[8] Therefore the entire material put together show the

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 211 प्रासादो वैष्णवस्तेन निर्म्मितोन्तर्व्वहन्हरिम्
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 129 (V. 42)
3. E. I. Vol. II p. 174–7
4. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 95 & 107; Vol.. 19 p. 175
5. E. I. Vol. 18 p. 323
6. E. I. Vol. IV (Khalimpur grant)
7. E. I. Vol. II p. 160.
8. A. S. I. A. R. 1623–24 p. 121

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religious tendencies of the people and their activities towards temple structure through-out Northern India.

Viṣṇu Icons.

The images formed the object of worship and it occupied important place in the religious life of the people. The prosperous condition of Vaiṣṇavism can be learnt from the iconographic representation of Viṣṇu discovered in the northern India. In the very beginning the human incarnations of Viśṇu was carved with two hands to earn the religious merits by the donors. The Viśvarupa variety was endowed with four hands and hence multihanded images were also planned by the artists. The making of the images were left to the artists who were guided by the living traditions, the iconographic canon and common heritage of artistic conception. The twenty four forms of four handed Viṣṇu images are differentiated by the varying order in which the four hands hold the usual attributes Śankha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma. Some times the second and third are personified as Chakra-purusha and Gadā-devī. The devotion was intensified with extra limbs and weapons which focused the attention of the worshippers. The four armed figure of Viṣṇu with four emblems (Sankha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma) are numerous and have been found in every part of north India mostly from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal[1]. Some of the images have inscribed pedestals and the reign of the ruler has been mentioned. One inscribed icon of Viṣṇu of 9th century refers to the setting up of the stone image of divine Nārāyaṇa[2].

Another specimen of mediaeval sculpture carved in black stone of 11th century A.D. shows that besides four attributes, the two consorts of Viṣṇu (Laksmī and Bhudevi) are also present[3]. Such images are famous for its beauty and artistic

1. E. Ind. School of Med. Sculpture Plats XLII–XLIV; Pl. XVIII c. d. Pāla and Sena sculptures no. 3, 24 and 27.
2. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 330.
   (भगवतो नारायणस्य शैलीं प्रतिमा भक्तानाम्)
3. E. I. Vol. XXVII p. 27 (Stele with the inscription गंगादास कारित वासुदेव भट्टारक)

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merits. They are known by the name of Trivikrama and found all over Northern India.[1] A common image of Viṣṇu has been carved out on the stone bearing the inscription of Dharmapāla[2]. The Viṣṇu image in the form of Harihara is a very important document to express the conciliating attitude of Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. When the mutual rival spirit was intense, the good souls suggested the device of Harihara[3] (Viṣṇu and Śiva) and even went so far to identify Śiva and Viṣṇu making one a form of other. In Madhaiyanagar record[4] we find the prayer to Panchānana who sustain Hari in half of his body. Similar description is recorded in another inscription[5] where Śiva is called Gauri Priya whose half body is that of Hari (Viṣṇu).

We know that the Kṛṣṇa cult was an addition to the Vaiṣṇavism of this period under review. In Pāhādapur sculptures and plaques some incidents in the life of Kṛiṣṇa have been represented; such as carrying of infant Kṛṣṇa, uprooting of tree and lifting of Gobardhan have found a place at Pāhādapur during 8th century A.D.[6] It gave an impetus to the cult of Rādhā the energy of lord Kṛṣṇa.

Vaiṣṇavism could not ignore two things namely Lakhmi and Garuḍa. Śrī (Lakshmī) has her own importance in the worship of Viṣṇu. Mostly she has the right place, in Trivikrama image.[7] Śri was also the favourite deity of Gāhaḍavāla family and hence invoked as the consort of Viṣṇu[8]. Besides Nārāyaṇa, Lakshmī also became the centre of Viṣṇu

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1. Trivikrama from the Punjab (A. S. I. A. R. 1922–23 p. 89) and also from Bengal (Pāla and Sena sculptures no. 39 and 50) Such images are common in Bengal. The attributes of this icon of Trivikrama are differently placed. The lower and upper left have conch and wheel while upper and lower right hands have mace and lotus.
2. Boddha Gaya Prasasthi (J. A. S. B Vol. IV p. 101)
3. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture Pl. CII (b)
4. J. A. S. B. 1909 Vol. V p. 467.
5. E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 5 V. I
6. A. S. Memoir no. 55 pl. XXVIII. no C & D pl. XXIX no. 45
7. E. I. Vol. XXVII p. 27
8. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 193.

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worship. This goddess as Mahalakshmi or Śri has got a place at the top of the record of Parmardi. She has four hands and water is poured over her by elephants[1], The figure of Lakshmi is also found on the coins of Chedi king Gāngeyadeva, chandela king Kirtivarma and Kashmir queen Didda. These evidences indicate the popularity of the Vaiṣṇava religion in the northern India. The second thing is the Vāhana of Viṣṇu called Garuḍa. The references occuring in the inscriptions[2] about Garuḍa indirectly show that donor was Vaiṣṇava by faith. In one of Gāhaḍavāla grants Viṣṇu has been described as riding on Garuḍa. The epigraphic evidence is fully supported by the Viṣṇu image seated in Lalitāsana on the outstretched wings of Garuḍa who is shown as about to soar upwards[3].

The seated and reclining[4] images of Viṣṇu are not popular with artists but the Sthānaka (standing) icons are numerous. An image of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa is interesting in which the deity in embracing posture is shown seated astride on his mount[5]. One standing stone figure of Viṣṇu (Trivikrama) from Dīnājapur (datable 12th Century AD.) is of unique iconographic interest. The figure is made to stand under a canopy of seven serpent hoods and Gadā and Chakra are shown on full-blown lotus flowers. Dr. Banerji thinks that this Viṣṇu image has got Mahāyana features[6] as the mode of placing attributes on louts is found in case of Manjuśri and Simhanāda Lokeśwara.

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1. Semra plate of Parmardi E. I. Vol. IV p. 153; I. A. Vol XVI p. 202–07 2. E. I. Vol. I 156 and 187
3. Iconography in Dacca Museum plates XXXII & XXXIV (गरुड़ासन विष्णु)
4. Such icon is rare : In one epigraph (E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 259) Nārāyaṇa is described sleeping on Śeshanaga. One sculpture showing god Viṣṇu sleeping on cosmic serpant has been found in Uttar Pradesh. (Brahmanical images in Mathura art pp. 22–23 no. 1503) 5. Ibid pl. XXXIV : Brahmanical images in Mathura art p. 17 no. 1684.
6. History of Bengal Vol. I p. 433–4

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Avatāras of Viṣṇu

The popularity of Vaiṣṇavism cannot be wholy explained by the above considerations. The popular mind must had indicated in no uncertain terms its dissatisfaction with cold speculative unity of Brahman (Nirguṇa form). A simple rite and a god capable of responding to the needs of the human hearts could alone bring together in common worship the wise and the ignorant. We find that Viṣṇu was found suitable for achieving this purpose. It may be stated here that Puruṣha Nārāyaṇa in the Śatapatha Brāhmana (XII, iii, 4,) was regarded as having pervaded the whole nature and this primeval spirit was also present in Nārāyaṇa (the family of Nara) or identical with man in his spiritual qualities. The one endowed with such qualities can take actual human form and reciprocate at all times the love or devotion which devotees bestow on Him. This aspect proves the basis of the theory of incaranation (Avatāra) of Viṣṇu. The Taittariya Āraṇyaka (X, 1, 6) refers to Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu[1] as the three phases of the same god. The incarnation of Viṣṇu means the beginning of life on earth like ordinary human being necessitated the temporal life with miraculous deeds and heroic exploits.[2] In Brāhmana literature stories are told of god (Viṣṇu) who exerted himself on behalf of other gods in many assumed forms Fish, tortoise and boar all these were ascribed to Viṣṇu in the capacity of governor of the world to set all matters right. New scriptures depicting the exploits of Viṣṇu were composed and cannonised.

The worship of Avatāras of Viṣṇu is of course a notable feature ef Vaiṣṇavism of the priod under review. The extant epigraphic evidences and archaeological materials show that incarnation theory was current in whole of Northern India. The number and forms of these Avatāras are variously given in different Purāṇas rising from six to twentyfour in due course

1. The predominence of Viṣṇu in later times is a revolution which might be described as the introduction of new religion (Elliot–Hinduism and Buddhism Vol. II p. 136)

2. Bhagawad Gita VI; 35–42

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but available materials of this period relate to the topic of incarnation refer to the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu. Kshemendra (1066 A. D.) in his *Daśāvatara Charita* and Jaya Deva (1180 A. D.) in *Gita Govind* have spoken of ten Avatāras famous by the names of (1) Fish (2) Tortoise, (3) Boar, (4) Man-lion, (5) Dwarf, (6) Rama i. e Parsu Rāma, (7) Rāma-Dāsrathi, (8) Balarāma,[1] (9) Buddha and (10) Kalki. Though this order was maintained in sculptures of mediaeval period[2] after 10th century A.D. but it was not the case before (9th century A.D.).

In Bandhogarh record (Near Rewa, Madhya Pradesh) of Yuvarājadeva I (10th century A. D.) we have the description of carving of several incarnatory image of Viṣṇu such as tortoise, boar, Parshu Ram, Balārāma and reclining figure of Viṣṇu.[3] In a prabhāvali (halo) of rounded stele of Viṣṇu image, ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are present of which six are represented viz. Vāmana, Parasurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalki[4]. As regards the first five, there is hardly any change in the order, but from six to ten the order is often changed. The study of the different specimens of Viṣṇu's avatāras reveals that after 10th century A.D, Kṛṣṇa has no place in the order of the incarnations.[5] The same can be stated of Buddha as avatāra of Viṣṇu, which is conspicious by its absence in the list of Avatāras of Viṣṇu before 9th century AD. Dr. Coomarswamy was of the view that in the 9th century AD. Buddha was regarded as incarnation of Viṣṇu[6]. This shows that in the early centuries of this period (700-1200 A.D.) Buddha was not regarded as Viṣṇu incarnation. Probably after 10th century A. D. when the bitterness among Hindus and Buddhists subsided and the latter was being assimilated in Brahmanism, the Buddha was declared as 9th Avatāra of Viṣṇu

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1. Sri Kṛṣṇa in Dasāvatar charita.
2. E. Ind. School of Med. sculpture Pl. XLIX (a)
3. श्री युवराजदेवामात्यस्य ... ... मत्स्य कच्छ वराह परशुराम etc. (C.I. 1. Vol. IV p. 184. 186 and 191.
4. Brahmanical images in Mathura Art p. 17 no. 1569
5. Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 96
6. Cat. of Indian collections in Boston Museum Vol. I p. 22

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by the preceptors of Hinduism[1]. Therefore Jayadeva wrote that the Buddha[2] occupies the ninth place in successive list of Avatāras counting after first-the fish.

Little is known about the first two incarnations except stray find of sculptures from Bihar and Bengal[3]. A Verse in Nagpur inscription of Paramāra king describes Viṣṇu in the desguise of fish[4] and other creatures (not named) having assumed one after another. It is added that the god made the whole universe not different from himself. Thus it appears that the author of the Praśasti knew *Matsyāvatāra* as the first incarnation of Viṣṇu. This incarnation has been represented in different ways by the artists. In inconography Matsya appears as a hybrid figure, the lower half is like fish and upper being human[5], but in the sculpture the actual fish is also carved[6]. The same is the case of Tortoise incarnation and this has been represented in hybrid or theriomorphic form like fish. The third Varāha avatāra seems to be very popular with the masses throughout India. In early and late mediaeval icons the head alone is that of a boar while torso is human[7]. Such images have been discovered in Rājaputānā and Bengal while Central Indian artists of Gupta period used to depict the god not only in hybrid form[8] but also in theriomorphic manner as appears from Hūṇa record[9]. It appears that Central India region was the centre

1. Matsya Purāṇa 47, 247
2. केशव धृत बुद्ध शरीर जय जगदीश हरे
3. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture Pl. XLVIII (b)
4. Nagpur stone inscription (E. I. Vol. II p. 182)
   वैश्वरूप्यं समस्यस्य मीनाद्याकृति कैतवात् ।
   स्वाभिन्ननिर्म्मिताशेष विश्वो विष्णुः पुनातु वः ॥
5. Four armed hybrid figure (History of Bengal Vol. I pl. II no. 7)
6. Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. XXVI (b)
7. E. I. school of Med. sculpture Pl. XLV; Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. XXXVI
8. Gigantic figure on the wall of Udaigiri Cave (The age of imperial Gupta Pl. XXXVIII)
9. Eran stone Boar inscription of Toramana (C. I. I. Vol. III p. 159
   भगवतो वराहमूर्तेर्जगत्परायणस्य नारायणस्य शिलाप्रसादः

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of Varāha worship from 5th century A. D. and an inscription of Mewār area dated 951 A. D, also speaks of Varāha Avatāra in Rajaputana.[1]

The Gurjar Pratīhāra king Bhoja after his triumph issued coins for the circulation having the effigy of Varāha on the reverse side. The king was the devotee of this Avatāra so he assumed the title of Ādivarāha which is ingraved on the obverse side of his coins—a title mentioned also in his record.[2] Such coins with legend *Śrimadādi Varāha* were current in central India, Rājaputānā and Madhyadesh [3] and commonly known as "Ādivarāha dramma". The second reference of this type of coin is found in Siyadoni record (near Gwalior) which described the investment of 1350 Ādivarāha dramma to distiller community by the Vaṇika Nagaka. The income out of it was to be spent in worship of Viṣṇu Bhattāraka[4]. In Khajuraho group of temples one shrine is assigned to Varāha Avatāra. Among many temples at Kanauja one was built for Varāha[5]. So these archaeological evideces go to prove the popularity of Varāha incarnation in Central India and Rājaputānā from 5th century to 10th century A. D.

In Eastern part of North India the discovery of Varāha Avatāra of Viṣṇu icons in hybrid form testifies to the prevalence

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1. I. A. Vol. 58 p. 161
   हरिरिह निवेशितोयं घटित प्रतिमो वराहेण
2. E. I. Vol. XVIII (Jodhapur record)
3. Two gold coins of king Vatsadama (J. R. A. S. 1900 p. 123 and N. C. Vol. XVII (5th series) 1937 p. 99) of Surasena dynasty (8th Cent. A. D.) have been published with figure of Viṣṇu on the reverse trampling the demon. According to Prof. Mirashi the figure is of Varāha not of Vāmana (I. H. Q. Vol. XVIII P. 71)
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 174–5 समस्त कल्लपालानां सत्कहद्दानमुपरि दत्तं श्रीमदादी वराह १३५० अतोर्थे सुराभाण्ड प्रतिमासान्मास विग्रह तुङ्गीय द्रम्मार्द्ध दातव्यं; धूपदीप नैवेद्यार्थ श्री विष्णु भट्टारकस्य प्रदत्तं
5. E. I. I Vol. I p. 187 (कारित यज्ञवराहाय)

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of worship of this Avatāra[1] during 10th century A. D. The four armed icons have all the attributes of lord Viṣṇu[2].

The forth Avatāra namely man-lion (Narasimha) itself explains that in this case lord Viṣṇu has half body of lion and half of human being. Here we find paws and head of a lion in the human image of this Avatāra. This incarnation was not much popular in Northern India as we find in the South; where we have different types of Nara-simha icons installed in the temples. In the north a few records of 10th century A.D. mention the image of Nara-simha Avatāra[3]. An inscription from Rājaputānā describes this form of Viṣṇu in the following words[4] :—

लब्धो निर्भेतुमेभिर्नरिपुरिति रसाद्दत्त चक्षुर्नखेषु
त्रासात्तत्रोऽरन्ध्रोदर कुहरदरीमेवलीनंविलोक्य
हासोल्लासावहेलं तदितरकर जाग्रेण निर्भिद्य- सद्यः
कोशाच्चिक्षेप तज्जंमलमिल दनुजं यः स् वोव्यान्नृसिंह्यः ।

A few specimens of four armed Narasimha icon from Bengal[5] show that the devotee of Viṣṇu in Bihar and Bengal had not forgotten the Avatāra of Narasimha.

The story of fifth Vāmana avatāra is found in majority of Purāṇas but the epigraphic records are silent on the topic of three strides of Viṣṇu when he had to assume the Vāmana (Dwarf) form. This Avatāra did not draw the attention of the people in Northern India as in the south, and a few examples of Vāmana[6] Avatāra are known from Bengal pointing out

1. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture Pl. XLV : Pāla and Sena sculptures no. 26 (Bihar icon)
2. From Dacca we have an image of Boar incarnation, four armed and a figure of small boar digging up the earth with his tusks is depicted between the striding leges of the god. Iconography Dacca Museum Pl. XXXVI (b)
3. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 244; Vol. XI p. 190; Vol. I p. 124 (V. I)
4. E. I, Vol. XI p. 190
5. E. Ind. school of Med : sculpture Pl. XLV, XLVI Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. XXXVII
6. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture Pl. XLVI Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. XXXVIII

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to the plastic activity of the artist in order to express his knowledge of the subject. Here the central figure is shown with left foot raised heaven wards and just to the left of right leg is carved the scene of Bali and Vāmana. The next Rāma i. e. Paraṣhu Rāma was the noted sage of Ramāyana age but heroic deeds of Rāma could not draw the attention of the people. Besides some images of Paraśurāma found in Bengal[1] nothing can be said of this Avatāra in greater detail on the basis of archaeological data. Jayadeva described Paraśurāma[2] as lord of the world and lord of Bhṛgus. The next incarnation Rāma, born as the son of Daśaratha, is famous in the epic—*Rāmāyaṇa*. In Gwalior inscription of Bhoja, he is described as Avatara of Viṣṇu[3]. Some of the *Leelās* of Rāma have been carved on the plaques at Pāhādapur the most important are the battle between Bali and Sugriva and Rāwaṇa with Jatāyu[4]. It is interesting to note that most probably Rāma cult was carried to Indonesia and Indochina from Pāhādapur.

The eighth Avatāra Rāma is taken to be short name of Balarāma (the brother of Kṛṣṇa) It is suggested that Kṛṣṇa was regarded as Avatāra of Viṣṇu in the epic but other literary and archaeological remain refer to a lord known as Vāsudeva (in *Gītā*) and Kṛṣṇa in later treatise. Some records written before the Christian era mention the worship of Viṣṇu in the name of Vāsudeva along with his brother Sankarṣaṇa Balarāma[4] but when and how Balarāma was included in the list of Viṣṇu Avatāras is still a mystic problem. It has alreay been mentioned that the new change in the Vaiṣṇavism of this age was the addition of life of Kṛṣṇa and possibly it was the cause of re-

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1. Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. XXXIX (b)
2. केशवधृत भृगुपति रूप जय जगदीश हरे
3. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 107 (V. 3)
   तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा क्रमनिहित पदे धाम्नि वज्रेशुधोरम्
   रामः पौलस्त्यहिश्रं क्षतविहति समित् कर्मचक्रेपलाशैः
4. A. S. Memoir no. 55
5. भगवद्म्यां संकर्षण वासुदेवाम्यां (Ghosundi inscription 1st C. B. C. E. I. Vol. XV p. 27) देवदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य (Besnagar Garuḍa Pill. Ins. 2nd C. B. C.) नमोसंकर्षण वासुदेवाम्यां (Nanāghat record A. S. W. I. V p. 60)

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presentation of Kṛṣṇa Leelā at Pāhādapur—(Lifting of Gobaradhan and carrying of infant Vāsudeva etc.).[1] (After 10th century A.D. Kṛṣṇa had no place in the list of ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu known from the sculpture[2] as well as from Gita Govinda. Balarāma appears to have little claim for divinity.) Nothing has been recorded to his credit in the dynastic epigraphs. (His special symbol is plough, so he is also called Haladhara. He occupied the eighth place in the order of incarnations of Viṣṇu and only a few images are known so far. In one figure Balarāma has seven hooded snake canopy and four arms, thus making him a Viṣṇu Avatāra.[3]

Regarding Buddha it may be stated that it is remarkable example of the capacity of assimilation and characteristic of Brāhmanical revival during this period. Hindus began to worship some of the Buddhist deities and in the end they adopted Buddha as 9th Avatāra of Viṣṇu. In Hindu society Buddha became the object of devotion by all Vaiṣṇavas. The artist also worked on new ideals and carved the figure of Buddha (in the 9th place) along with other incarnations of Viṣṇu.[4]

Vaiṣṇava Ceremony and Festivals.

In the records of Northern India, certain festivals and ceremony have been described when people worshipped Viṣṇu and observed fast etc. The Udaigiri inscription of Chandragupta II refers to 'Sayan Ekadasi'. It is on the Eleventh day of the

1. A. S. Memoir no. 55 Plates XXVIII c & d; Pl. XXIX no. 5
2. Viṣṇupattas—Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 90 & 95. Figures of Balarāma from Uttar Pradesh. (Cat. of Brahmanical images in Mathura Art. P. 24)
3. 7th Oriental Conference, Baroda p. 797
4. Indian Museum No. 4181.
   A. R. A. S. Bengal 1901–2 p. 13
   E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture p. 156 Pl. XLIX (a)
   Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. XXVI (b) (Miniature images of ten Avataras on two sides)
   केशव धृत बुद्ध शरीर जय जगदीश हरे।

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bright fortnight of the month of Aṣādha that the gift was made[1]. This is the date when Viṣnu is supposed to go to sleep. His slumber continued for four months and ends on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of Kartika. In the cases of dāna this Ekadasi known as Devothan or Prabodhini (i.e. end of the sleep of Viṣṇu) and is referred to in the epigraphs of early medieaval priod[2]. Gangdhar stone inscription of Visvavarman (423 A.D.) describes the occasion of Viṣṇu's awakening (of the god Madhusudan) in exquisite terms as the occasion bringing happiness to the thoughts of all man-kind in that season[3].

Another Vaiṣnava festival viz. Sakkra is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of the time of Naravarman, which was performed in the rainy season which delights the minds of the men[4]. Several important Vaiṣṇava ceremonies are observed during the four months of the rainy season. Kriṣṇa Janmastmi is celebrated on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada when after worshiping god Viṣṇu (Krisna or Adikeśava) gift was made by the rulers[5]. In this connection the name of Vaiṣṇava Sankrānti may be mentioned when a Buddhist king prformed ceremony on this occasion[6]. The Bali and Charu drew the attention of the Vaiṣṇava people who granted villages for the meeting of the expeneses of the worship of Viṣṇu[7].

Meditation was an essential part of daily worship and the

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1. आषाढ़ मास-शुल्कौकादश्याम् परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्ते पाद्यानुध्यातस्ते महाराज छगलग पौत्रस्य महाराज विष्णुदास गुप्तस्य सनकानिकस्य महाराज देयधर्मः (A study of ancient Indian inscriptions by Dr. B. Upadhyay p. 51)
2. I. A. Vol. XLIII. p. 193 (देवोत्थनो एकादश्यां)
   E. I. Vol. XIII P. 211 (एकादसि देव उपस्थापनि पव्वर्णि)
3. निद्रा व्ययाम समये मधुसूदनस्य
   काले प्रबुद्ध कुमुदागर शुद्ध तारे
   (Ancient Indian Inscriptions p. 98)
4. Select Inscriptions p. 382
5. E. I. Vol IV p. 118
6. E. I. Vol. XXIX p. 7
7. Khoh inscription (C. 1. 1. III P. 125)

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forms of Viṣṇu were repeatedly meditated by the devotees.[1] Repeatation of the prayers and Mantras was the port of daily worship and inscriptions of the period supply various invocations, salutations and Mantras[2].

The people who prayed Viṣṇu were full of emotions and sentiments and chanted eight or twelve lettered mantras (Om Namo Nārāyaṇa or Om Namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya)[3]. These mantras were supposed to be of great importance and significance by the followers of Vaiṣṇava sect.

Besides these information the dynastic records mention the various purposes of grants i. e. for erection of Viṣṇu temple, offering and for other religious practices[4], showing there by the popularity of the Vaiṣṇava cult.

Vaiṣṇava literature also support the diffusion of the cult and supply exhaustive information about the ways and manners of observing the festivals. They are occasions of social gathering. Some scholars find reasons for the multiplicity of Vaiṣṇava festivals with the fact that God Viṣṇu was associated with prosperity and welfare of human being. Thus Vaiṣṇavism had penetrated into the masses through worship and festivals.

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1. जीवलोक मिंतं ज्ञात्वा शरण्यं शरणं गतः
   (Mandasor Inscription E. I. Vol XII p. 315)
2. Junagarh rock inscription of Skandagupta Verse I.
   (ancient Indian Inscriptions p. 63)
   E. I. Vol XII P. 315; C. 1. 1. III p. 270.
3. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 284
   C. 1. 1, III p. 112
4. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 78
   C. 1. 1. III p. 268

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CHAPTER VIII

S'AIVISM

Śaivism was also the popular religion in this early mediaeval period. The worship of Śiva from a very remote period prevailed in India and it had a good following amongst the aboriginals and Āryanized people. It was the rival of Vaiṣṇavism and unlike Viṣṇu no complicated rituals grew up round His worship nor extensive incarnation myths gathered round Him. Śaiva cult has been more in contact with non-Aryan population in India than Vaiṣṇavism. One of most significant changes in the new Brāhmanical religion was the growth and development of Śaivism, the rise of which can be thought of by the study of epigraphic documents and many other archaeological materials. The inscriptions contain definite references to the worship of Śiva and its pre-eminence is clearly indicated by the praśasthis of the grants. That the Śaivism of the period under review was a fully developed religion with many sub-cults and popularity can be judged from the various names by which Śiva is invoked in the records of this age.

The worship of Śiva seems to have been a general practice in early days. The remains of Indus Valley civilisation at Mohenjodāro and Harappā show that the cult of Śiva linga is not entirely an Āryan cult. How the phallic (Symbol) worship was supplemented with anthopomorphic Śiva is a problem to historians. The anthopomorphic form of Śiva first appeared on the coins of Wima Kadphises and followed by Kushan and Scythian kings. In Gupta period the figure of Śiva assumed a definite shape as evidenced by the epigraphs[1] of Gupta dynasty. The Ekmukha linga and four Mukha-lings are special forms of Gupta Art. We know that in 7th century A.D. king Śaśānka

1. भक्त्या भगवतः शम्भोर्गुहामेतामकारयत्
E. I. Vol. XV p. 139 C. I. I. Vol. III no. 6.

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and Harsha Vardhan were ardent Śiva worshippers[1]. The Śaiva sect developed rapidly in this century and at that time Varanasi was the strong hold of Śaivism[2] in northern India.

The epigraphic records of various dynasties ruling in Northern India from 700–1200 A. D. abound with the account of Śiva cult, the donation to the god Śiva and different sub-sects that flourished in this age. The very first mantra—*Om Namo Śivāya*[3] shows that God Śiva has been invoked and the different succeeding Verses are written in the praise of Lord Śiva. Paramāra records[4] contain the following verse in the praise of Śiva :—

धृत गगन सिंधुपट्ट शैलसुता शालभंजिका सुभगः
जयति जग त्रय मण्डप मूलस्तम्भो महादेवः ।

Similarly Tewar inscription of Kalachuri family describes Śiva as *Para Brahma* being respected by Brahma and other gods[5] while Bheraghat record prays Śiva having moon on the forehead[6]. But another Kalachuri epigraph prays Śiva in more excellent words[7]:—

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1. परममाहेश्वरो महेश्वर इव परमभट्टारक महाराजधिराज श्री हर्ष :—बांसखेडा ताम्रपत्र ।
2. Yuwang Chwang speaks of hundred Śiva temple at Kashi (Beal' Vol. II p. 44–5).
3. Parmāra record E. I. Vol. XXI p. 48 – ओं नमो शिवाय
   Kalachuri inscription–E. I. Vol. XXX p. 148; Ibid Vol XXV p. 310; E. I. Vol. I p. 254.
   Mālva record E. I. Vol. I p. 233. Banaras plate Ibid Vol. II p. 305.
   Malhar inscription Ibid Vol. I p. 40. Ratanpur record Ibid p. 47
   Khajurāho record Ibid Vol. I p. 140 : Bheraghat inscription–Ibid Vol. II p. 10 : Naihati grant (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 154).
4. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 44.
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 18.
   ओं ज्ञानानन्दं परं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मादि सुर सेवितम्
   वंदेमहि महादेवं देवदेव जगद्गुरुम्
6. Ibid p. 10 कल्याणिताम विकलां भवतां तनोतु ।
   भाले कलानिधि कला शशि शेखरस्य
7. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 149 verse 1.

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फणिश्वास श्यामेस्वन दमरनद्यम्भसि च
यज्जटा जूटाम्भोजे नयन शिखि विद्युद् विलसति
तथा चूड़ा चन्द्रद्युति निकर धारेव ककुभम्
कपालानां माला तुलयति स शर्व्वो विजयते।

(Here शर्व्व is the name of Śiva)

The prelude in Udaypur Praśasthi describes Śiva (Śambhu) with Ganga and snakes garland[1] as follows :—

गङ्गाम्बुसंसिक्त भुजंग मालवाले
कलेद्वोरमलां कुरामा
यन्मूर्द्धिन् नम्रेहित कल्प वलल्या
भातीव भत्यै स तवास्तु शम्भुः।

Different Names of the Diety

In the same Kalachuri Praśastis Śiva has been called by different names in the course of the prayer. These names are Kedāreśwara, Rāmeśwara, Somanāth and Rudra.[2] Similarly in other dynastic records the worship of Śiva has been described under differeat names. In Parmāra record he is called Bhavānipatī and Vyomakeśa[3]. In another record from the same Ujjain area Śiva has been invoked as Mahādeva and Umāpati[4]. His names Paśupati[5] and Śiva, are frequently mentioned[6] in the epigraphs. The other names of Śiva viz. Yogaswāmi[7] Lolarka[8] and Vindeswara[9] are not so popular but Śiva has been praised with these nomenclatures. The name *Arddha-nāriśwara*, though mentioned in the records of Garjara

1. E. I. Vol. I p. 233.
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 238 Verse 20.
3. E. I. Vol. XI p. 181; (Banswara inscription of Bhoja). E. I. Vol. XVI p. 13
4. I. A. Vol. VI p. 48.
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 119 ; Vol. VII p. 95.
6. E. I. Vol. XI p. 39 : I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 209 ; Ibid 1912 p. 201.
7. E. I. Vol. VI p. 174.
8. Ibid Vol. V p. 116–8.
9. A. S. I. A. R. 1935-36 p. 95.

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pratihāra[1] family and Sena epigraphs[2], refers to the changed conception of the age in combining Śiva with his spouse Pārvatī in their half figures. Śiva is also called Nilkaṇtha[3] which reminds the mythological story of drinking poison out of the ocean. Vijayasena invokes Śiva under the name Śambhu and Vallālasena under the name of Dhūrajati and Ardhanāriśwara. Although Lakshmaṇasena and his successors begin their inscriptions by invoking Nārāyaṇa; (Viṣnu) but they do not forget to pay their homage to Sadāśiva—the family deity. We know that a peculiar iconographic form of ten armed Śiva was carved in Bengal during 12th century A. D. and that Śiva has been named Sadāśiva in the grants of Sena rulers[4]. The most important appellation appears to be Maheśwara because the worshippers of Śiva by this name assumed a new title of Parama Māheśwara along with other offical title of Parambhattāraka Mahārājā Dhirāja Parameśwara. The kings felt proud to add this designation to their proper names[5]. The kings of Paramāra[6], Chandela[7], Chedi[8], Pratīhāra[9], Gāhaḍavāla[10] and Sena[11] dynasties called themselves Parama-Māheswara so it is presumed that they worshipped Śiva with the new name of Maheśwara. These various names attributed to Śiva alone convery a fair idea of the popular conception of this god.

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1. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 175.
2. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 159.
3. A. S. I. A. R. 1935–36 p. 92.
4. E. I. Vol. I. p. 280 ; E. I. XIV p. 157 ; Vol. XXVI p. 2–3; J. A. S. B. 1914 p. 97.
5. This title is also found in the coin legend of Kalachuri king Krisnārāj—परम माहेश्वर मातृपितृपादानुध्यात श्री कृष्णराज (J. N. S. I. Vol. III p. 21).
6. E. I. Vol. XI p. 93.
7. Ibid XX p. 133; Vol. IV p. 154.
8. Ibid Vol. VII p. 91; Vol. XXX p. 77.
9. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 178.
10. I. H. Q. Vol. V. p. 26; E. I. Vol. XII p. 24.
11. E. I. Vol. XV p. 280–2.

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Temples of S'iva.

The kings of this period built Śiva temples giving particular name to this god. Hence some more names of Śiva are added to the list already known from the above records. Deopara Praśasthi of Vijayasena described the erection of the magnificent temple of Pradyumneśwara[1] in the following verse-[2]

दिक् शाखा मूलकांण्ड गगनतल महाम्भोधिमध्यान्तरीयं
भानोः प्राक्प्रत्यगद्रि स्थितिमिल दुदयास्तस्य मध्यान्ह शैलम् ।
आलम्बस्तम्भमेकं त्रिभुवन भवनस्यैक शेषं गिरीणां
स प्रद्युम्ने- श्वरस्य व्यधित वसुमती वासवः सौधमुच्यैः ॥

It is wonder that Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla being a Parama Saugata (devout of Buddha) has been described as builder[3] of thousand Śiva (Śiva Bhattarka) temples. This number should not be accepted as correct because the author in his exhortation declaring the religious toleration of Nārāyaṇapāla, might have uttered this number of one thousand temples. However this is true that Pāla king did build Śiva temples. The successor Vigrahapāla III (1055 A. D.) is said to have constructed a temple for Śiva[4]. Beyond Bengal frontiers in Orissa we have huge and massive Lingarāja temple at Bhuvaneśwar built near about 1000[5] A. D. During 10th century A. D. Śiva temples were also built in Assam.[6] Thus the above account testifies to the devotion of Śiva in the Eastern part of Northern India.

The epigraphs of Rājapūta kings contain numerous refernces to the Śiva temples, their construction and donations to the deity. Paramāra records describe the construction of the

1. Ibid Vol. I p. 310.
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 310 Verse 26.
3. I. A. Vol. XV p. 306 महाराजाधिराज श्री नारायणपाल देवेन स्वयं कारित सहस्रायतनस्य । तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितस्य, भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य ।
4. M. A. S. B. Vol. 3 p. 80.
5. Brown–Indian Architecture Pl. LXXIII.
6. A. S. I. A. R. 1924–25 p. 96; The Tejpur grant (J. A. S. B. Vol IX p. 766 ff) Hieun Tsang also recorded that during his visit to Kamarupa there were 100 deva temples many of which probably dedicated to Śiva (Watters Vol. II p. 186).

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temple of Nilakantha[1] and Mahākāla[2]. Mahāmandaleśwara temple was founded by feudatory of Paramāra king Jaya Singh in the honour of Śiva[3]. Similar instances are found in Chandela inscriptions showing the patronage of kings to the god Śiva. Parmardi is said to have built[4] a Śiva temple at Mahoba in 1184 A. D.[5] In Khajurāho record the Śiva shrine founded by Udayan is described in the following verse[6] :—

उदयन इति राजा यः कुले पाण्डवाना
सकलभुवन नाथस्यास्य भद्रेश्वरस्य
पवन लुलित चिन्ह रम्य कांतेष्टकाभिः
गृहवरमति भक्तया करितं तेन पूर्वम् ।

Like god Bhadreśwara another temple was dedicated to Śiva named Vindyeśwara[7]. Besides these references in the dynastic epigraphs we know that the Chandela monarchs encouraged the building of magnificent and artistic shrines at Khajurāho. Kandarya Mahādeva temple is one of the most beautiful temples of our period. Viśwanāth[8] and Mewār temples[9] may also be added to the list and they were built near about 1000 A. D. The Kalachuri records are not so rich in this respect but a few epigraphs of this dynasty open with Śaivit mantra *Om Namo Śivāya* and mention the erection of Śiva temples. Ratanpur inscription of 11th century A. D. describes the construction of two Śiva temples at Kumarkota.[10] In 919 A. D. a Śiva temple was built in the name of Kedār Śiva[11] and similar

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1. A. S. I. A. R. 1923–4 p. 133.
2. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 42; J. A. S. B. Vol. VII p. 1056.
3. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 48 प्रसादमय माणेयं शिव एव करोति यः
4. Mahoba stone inscription A. S. I. Vol XXI pp. 34 – 37
5. Bhartiya Kaumudi Vol. I p. 435.
6. A. S. I. Vol. XXI.
7. A. S. I. A. R. 1935–36 p. 95
8. Brown–Indian Architecture Pl. LXXX.
9. Ibid Pl. LXXXII.
10. E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 26[illegible]–9.
    सुधांशुधवलं तत्र धूर्ज्जटेधाम निर्म्मितम्
    निर्म्मितं मंदिरं रम्यं कुमराकोटपत्तने
11. Malhar stone inscription (E. I. Vol. I p. 40)

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examples can be cited from the account of other Chedi records.[1] The documents of Gurjara Pratihāra family do not lack in such descriptions.[2] In Gwalior inscription of king Bauk we find an important verse pointing out the inclination of the ruler towards lord Śiva whose temple was built by the king in the name of Siddheśwar Mahādeva.[3]

Some more records from Rājaputāna also contain the reference of Śiva temples[4]. The above account of the erection of Śaiva temples by different rulers supports the contention that Śiva worship was more popular in Madhya Pradesh, Central India, Rājaputānā and Madhyadesh than Bihar and Bengal. But the Śaiva images found in Eastern India[5] go to show that the deity was worshipped by the people with full devotion. A very illuminating description is found regarding the addition of the mandapa to Śiva (*Trinetra*) temple. Pasupata Ācharya complied the order of the king[6].

Śiva Images

The problem of the iconographic representation of Śiva was not fully solved in carving by the North Indian artists. In this period linga form of Śiva was rarely worshipped and[7]

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1. Bheraghat record (Ibid Vol. II p. 8) I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 213. dated. 1159. A. D.
2. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96; I. A. Vol. XV p. 201; E. I. Vol. XIV p. 178.
3. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96 (verse 20).
   पुष्करणी कारिता येन त्रेतातीर्थे च पत्तनं
   सिद्धेश्वरो महादेवः कारितस्तुंगमंदिर; ।
4. Harsh inscription of Chahamāna Vigraharāja (1030 V. S.) E. I. Vol. II p. 119 ; E. I. Vol. I p. 230 and 222–3.
5. E. I. School of Med. Sculpture Pl. LI–LVIII.
6. शैव पाशुपताचार्य वारिक प्रमुखाः
   मण्डपमकारि रुचिरं देव श्री नीलकण्ठस्य (E. I. Vol. XXXI p. 165.)
7. A coin of Bappa Rawal has been published containing the effigy of Śiva linga beside the trident on the obverse side. To the right of linga is a bull in a sitting posture. This ruler has been identified with Bhoja of Mewar reigning in 8th Cent. A. D. (N. S. XI, (273) 1927). Perhaps the Śiva-linga near Udaipur was installed by the king. Similar coin was issued

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even the anthopomorphic forms are not too many as we find in South India. While the dynastic records supply good many names of the god Śiva, the artistic specimens are a few though the tendency to multiply the variety of Śiva images was carried to its fullest extent in early mediaeval Śaiva reliefs. The images of Natarāja, Sadāśiva, Haragaurī, Arddhanārīśwara, Kalyāna[1] Sundara and Harihara forms are represented which comprise single and composite forms of Śiva icons grouped in Saumya class.

The images of Natarāja is scarcely met with in northern India and it is a bit different from other such icons found in South India. In south Indian style we have four armed Śiva dancing on demon Apasamāra but in East Bengal the god is ten armed and dancing on bull[2]. In other place the dance is performed on lotus[3]. As the Sena kings adopted this cult, the icon of ten armed Śiva namely Sadāśiva was accepted as royal seal device and the figure was represented on the upper part of the Sena records i. e. in the official seals the seated image was carved[4]. Such type of icons were carved in East Bengal during the period under review.[5] The image of Ardha-

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(Continued) by Keśava of Guhila family of Mewar (N. C. XIII p. 139) Later in Khajurāho record Siva is called लिङ्ग रूपौ (E. I. Vol. I p. 140) S'iva-linga and chaturamukha linga (PLastic or bronze) have been discovered at Pahādapur and other places of N. Bengal. (E. Ind. school of Med. Sculpture pl. LI (b). J. A. S. B. (N. S.) XXVIII p. 189.

1. Mahādeva, Vyomakesha, Sadāśiva, Mahāmandaleśwara, Ardhanārīśwar, Pradyumaneśwar, Sarbha, Śivabhattāraka, Pasupati, Nilakantha, Vindeśwarśiva, Umāpati, S'ambhu, Kedāra, Rudra, Yogaswāmina, Bhawānīpati, Siddheśwar, etc. have been mentioned in the previous pages.
2. Iconography in Dacca Musem p. 112 pl. XLIII.
3. A. S. I. A. R. 1924–5 p. 126.
4. Naihati grant of Ballalasena E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 2–3 : E. I. Vol. XIV p. 156. ; E. I. Vol. XV p. 278 (Barrackpur grant) J. A. S. B. Vol. X (N. S.) p. 97–9 (Edilpur record)
5. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture Pl. LIV.

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nārīśvara is very significant but is rare in Northern India. Here we find half body of Śiva and half of Pārvati merged in one. Śiva has Jatāmukuta and snake garland while other half portion has ornamented locks, earings, armlet and prominent breast.[1] In Pratīhāra inscription we find a reference to this form of Śiva icon as *Harsyardha Nārīsha Mūrti*[2] while the Sena record opens with an invocation of the dancing Ardhanāriśvara[3].

This type of image has been discovered in East Bengal from the districts of Khulanā, Dacca and Dīnājapur[4]. In many other specimens Śiva is represented in composite form called *Umā-Māheswara Mūrti* where he is embracing Pārvati. In this class (*Alingana Mūrti*) god is ordinarily sitting on a lotus with a pendent right leg. His wife Umā sits on his left thigh. Both of them are seated on double lotus seat—a special feature of early mediaeval art. This form is known is metal[5] as well as in plastic art[6]. Generally the name Śiva-Pārvatī or Hara-Gauri or Umālingana Mūrti[7] has been applied to those specimens. In plastic art representation of marriage scene or *Vaivāhika Mūrti* has been described in many of the purāṇas. In one specimen Śiva is standing and holding the hand of Pārvatī, i. e. *Pāṇigrahaṇa* is depicted. This form is also famous by the name of Kalyānsundara Mūrti.[8] At Pāhādpur god Śiva has also been carved with three[9] eyes and with all ornaments while in second icon he is holding Trisūla and bearing *Yagñopavita*[10]. It may be added that in most of the composite

1. Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. LII.
3. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 175 हरस्यार्द्धं नारीश मूर्ति
3. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 159 (Naihati plate).
   संध्या ताण्डव सम्विधान विलसन् नान्दी निनादोर्म्मभि :
   र्निर्म्मर्यादरसार्णवो दिशतु वः श्रेयोर्द्धनारीश्वरः ।
4. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture pl. LVI.
5. A. S. M. no. 55 pl. 58 (a).
6. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture pl. LV.
7. Iconography in Dacca Musem Pl. XLIX and LI.
8. Ibid Pl. XLVIII.
9. A. S. Memoir no 55 pl. XXX no. 63.
10. Ibid Pl. XXXI and no. 41.

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icons representing Śiva and Pārvatī, the bull and lion both are present as their *Vāhanas*. From Tippera an independent image of Pārvatī has been discovered with all Parivāra devatās[1] on the halo side. She has elaborate decoration and the third eye is very prominent. She has lotus stalk in her left hand and right hand is in *Varada Mudra*. Above *Prabhavali* (halo) we find other gods Gaṇesha, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Karttikeya (Parivāra devatās) with proper emblems and respective Vāhanas. Below lion (the Vāhana of goddess) is carved[2]. The stele is black chlorite stone of 12th century A. D. therefore the image is assigned to Pāla school of Indian Art. The other class Ugra type of Śiva image is known as Aghora form of Śiva. Here the god is standing in *Alīdha* posture with his legs planted on the nude human and demoniacal figure. On the pedestal we observe nine skulls arranged in the group of three. The attendants holdiag *Kartri* and *Kapala* in their hands are shown one on either side of the deity[3]. Another specimen of the same type of image was acquired from Dinājapur. Though the images of Aghora are comparatively rare, literary evidences go to prove that Rudra Śiva claimed a vast number of devotees throughout India and this particular sect of Śaivism came to be known as *Aghora Panthī*[4]. A considerable portion of the Tāntric literature on Śaivism is probably of East Indian growth. Tantra created a complicated Śaiva iconography conceiving many different forms of Śiva. The sculptors were not slow and they followed the conceptions with lithic representation. Images of Śiva are numerous and are met with in Bengal.

Institution of Śaiva Maṭha.

The institution for monastic life is really of Buddhist origin, but in Brāhmanism it is related to Śaiva faith. Śiva has

1. The presence of कार्तिकेय, ब्रह्मा, शिव, विष्णु aad गणपति on circular top (halo) is probably an influence of Mahāyāna on Hindu iconography (History of Bengal Vol. I. p. 454) like five Dhyani Buddhas.
2. A. S. I. A. R. 1935–36 p. 120 Pl. 35 no. 3.
3. Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. XLVII (a).
4. V. R. S. Mem. no. 5/30–34 fig. 9.

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been taken as ideal Yogin[1] who in his aspect of a meditative god, is regarded the patron deity of Sanyāsins. He lives far away from the haunts of men, therefore, the institution for the meditation is always built away from human habitation. Because the home of Śiva is in the inhospitable mountain, Sanyāsins used to live in forest with no fixed abode[2] but later on resided in the Maṭhas, There is inseparable association of maṭha with Śaiva faith and hence Sanyāsi generally means an ascetic following the Śaiva religion. The organisation of Maṭha has already been described in detail in the previous chapter, but a few passing remarks are necessary here. Without any doubt it may be declared that Śaivas erected the Maṭha and gave donations for its management. This is fully confirmed by the study of grants dedicated in our period. The entire material shows that Śiva was the patron deity of Kalachuri kings hence more than half records connected with this topic hail from Madhya Pradesh. A 10th century A. D. Kalachuri epigraph speaks of Maṭha for Śaiva ascetics. The Maṭha, tank and garden were planned near Śiva temple for Sanyāsins.[3] Kharod record[4] of this family mentions the erection of Maṭha near Śiva Maṇḍapa while Bherāghāt inscription describes the foundation of Maṭha and garden along with Śiva temple. Several villages were gifted for the expense of that establishment.[5] A minister of Kalachuri king Ratnadeva III viz Gaṅgādhara built a Maṭha in 1181 A. D. to the south of Śiva shrine.[6] Besides Chedi records we also find

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1. The lord Siva is also called Yogaswāmī in the record (E. I. Vol. VI p. 174) which is very significant from the above point of view.
2. In the copper plate of Mahāśiva, Gupta the words विनिर्गतश्च पलगोचर connote that the S'aiva monks had no abode or fix residence (A. I. orient. Conf. proceed., Banaras Vol. III p. 596).
3. E. I. Vol. XXXI p. 148.
4. Ibid Vol. XXI p. 161 (12th Cent. A. D.)
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 8-11.
6. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 165. मठः कठोर काष्ठौघैर वैवाकारिधीमता, देव दक्षिण दिग्भागे निवासार्थेन् तपस्विनाम् ।

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stray references of erection of Maṭha by the kings of other dynasties. The Udaipur inscription of Someśwar contains[1] the account of construction of a monastery for the residence of Kāpālika ascetics (a sub-ect of Śaivism) and the record of Madanapāla (king of Rājaputānā) speaks of several Maṭhas connected with the temple and line of Śaiva Āchāryas.[2] The similar description is found is *Rājatarangiṇi* that king Lalitādidya and his other successors built Maṭhas close to Śiva temples and gave parmanent endowments[3] to it. Only one reference in Pāla record mentions the erection of Brāhmaṇa Maṭha (Maṭha for Sanyāsins) in the 7th regnal year of king Nārāyaṇapāla[4]. After the construction the establishment was offered to some monk who willingly accepted that[5]. The Sena kings also adopted the Śaiva cult and accepted Sadāśiva as royal seal, but their work in this direction (construction of Maṭha) has not been mentioned. Thus on the above consideration one can say that appreciable number of Maṭhas were built in western part of Northern India. The erection of Maṭha by Śaivas and its continuous control by Śaiva ascetics gathered the paraphernalia of a chief during 12th century A. D. and the chief monk became the head of Maṭha (मठाधीश).

Donation to the temple and Deity.

The epigraphs of this period from 700–1200 A. D. are mostly donative in character and religious minded monarch or donor gifted lands and cash for the expenses of the worship of the deity and the establishment of temple and Maṭha. There is no doubt that the main aim behind such *Dāna* was the fulfilment of the desire or to obtain merits. People were asked to worship Śiva for sacred knowledge, victory in the battle,

1. A. R. of Rajaputana Museum 1922–23 p. 2 dated 1229 V. S.
2. E. I. Yol. III p. 264.
3. Raj. Taranga VIII, 2401, 2421–42.
4. M. A. S. B. Vol. V p. 60–61.
5. E. I. Vol. I p. 259 मठं श्री वैद्यनाथस्य भक्तियुक्तः समार्प्पयत् ।

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beautiful body and for birth in the princely family[1]. The above description clearly shows the inner working of the mind of the people. The grants were made with the particular object in view. The Jabalpur inscription mentions the endowment of three villages to Śiva temple on lunar eclipse day[2]. Similar case of permanent endowment is referred to in a paramāra epigraph where king Jaya Singh issued order to realise a tax on every bullock load going on the way to the market. Though the tax was 1/20 of the coin it was a permanent gift given to the deity[3]. The grant of Pāla ruler Nārāyaṇapāla has supplied a detailed information regarding the various purposes of the gift. The income of that land was to be spent in worship, alms house (Sattra) any new work or supplying seat in Maṭha and medicine for mendicants and also for the pretty repairs of the temple[4]. Thus we find that the alm houses and Maṭhās were attached to the Śiva temple in North India.

Different Schools of S'aivism.

The period under review is an important epoch in the history of Śaiva religion. In this age the sect spread far and wide throughout India. The survey of Śaivāgama points out that Śaiva sect was devided into four divisions[5]—(1) Śaiva or Vir Śaivas (2) Pāśupata (3) Kāpālika and (4) Kālamukha.

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1. E. I. Vol. I p. 26 Verse 75.
   भवति नृपति वंशे जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या
   श्रुतिमुचित विचारश्चारू रूप प्रभावः
   समर विजय संपत्तस्य यो निःप्रपञ्चश्चरण
   युगल मूलं संश्रितः शङ्करस्य ।
2. E. I. Vol. XXV p. 310 (It gives the list of S'aiva preceptors of Kalachuri kings).
3. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 48 राजा श्रीजयसिंहेन अस्मै देवाय भक्तितः
   वृषभं प्रति भोगार्थं मार्गे विंशोपकोदत्तः
4. I. A. Vol. XV p. 306.
   भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य पाशुपत आचार्य परिषदश्च यथार्हं पूजा वलि चरू सत्र नवकर्माद्यर्थं शयनासन ग्लान प्रत्यय भैषज्य परिष्कारार्थं ।
5. B. Upadhyay–Bhārtīya Darśana p. 547.

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The same divisions are also found in *Vāmana Purāṇa* (chapter 6). The study of the dynastic records reveals the name of Pāśupata and Kāpālika as the prominent schools of Śaivism. Vir Śaiva cult had its centre in South India, consequently north Indian inscriptions do not speak of that sect. Before dealing with the actual topic of these cults in the early mediaeval epigraphs, a few literary remarks about their early history would not be out of place. The Pāśupatas were Śaivas as we infer from the description of Bāṇa and the monks of this sect used to besmear ashes on their forehead and took Rudrāksha in the hands[1]. The poet further adds that the followers of this sect were present in the Āśrama of Divākara Mitra[2]. The presence of Pāśupatas is confirmed by the account of Hiuen Tsang who says that people in Sind[3] and Ahichhatra[4] (Bareilly U. P.) were not Buddhists but belonged to the ash-sprinklers-Pāśupata.

The archaeological data are not wanting on the subject. The historical person connected with Pāśupata sect (or so-called founder) was Lakulin (the holder of Laguḍa or Lakuta or Lakula[5] (a club). As stated above the founder of Pāśupata sect has a stick in his hand and this kind of effigy of Śiva (having a club in his hand) has been found on the coins of Kuṣāna ruler Huviska[6], who ruled in 2nd century A. D. This should be treated as the earliest historical infor-

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1. धवलभस्म ललाटि काभिः अक्षमालिका परिवर्तन प्रचल करतलाभिः पाशुपत व्रत धारिणीभिः (कादम्बरी)
2. Harsh Charita–Uchchhavas 8 (मस्करीभिः taken as S'aiva monks i. e. Pāśupatas. Bāṇa has mentioned Pāśupata Bhairavacharya as Maskari–Harshcharita in Hindi P. 191 by Dr. V. S. Agrawal).
3. Watters Vol. II p. 257–262; Beal Records Vol. II p. 45 & p. 271–76.
4. Ibid Vol. I p. 331.
5. Collected works of Bhandarkar Vol. IV p. 166 (Vaiṣṇavaism and Śaivism).
6. I. M. C. P. 78 pl. XII no. 14 (God S'iva, four armed, lower hand resting on club, legend o-es-ho). The same features in Gardner's Cat. of Indian Coins in B. M. Pl. XXVIII no. 15.

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mation about the sect. The second reference of Lukulisha sect or Pāśupata is found in 4th century A. D. record of Gupta king Chandra Gupta II. In his Mathura pillar inscription a Pāśupata ascetic (a disciple in the line of Lakulish) named Uditāchārya is said to have established two Śiva lingas of Upamiteśwara and Kapileśwara[1]. The carving on the pillar is very important. This pillār (though has a Śaiva record) is carved and the standing figure appears to be of Lakulish, because in right hand we find a staff or club (Lakuda)[2]. The study of the Mathura pillar inscription dated 61 G. E. (380 A. D.) shows that the ascetic Uditāchārya has been described as the tenth in the succession of the disciples from Kuśika[3] (कुशिकाद्दशमेन). If we allow 25 years as the period of one generation, the date of Kuśika would be carried back to 130 A. D. (380 A. D.—250 years). The Kuṣāna king Huviska appears to be contemporary of this Pāśupata monk—Kuśika. We learn about Kuśika from Cintra Praśasti[4] (though a record of 13th century A. D. from Gujarāta) that Śiva became incarnate[5] in the form of Bhattāraka Lakulish who had four disciples among whom Kuśika was the first. It is stated that he (Lakulish) appeared in order to fulfil the Pāśupate bow[6]. Thus considering the above two records (Mathura and Cintra Praśastis) it may be suggested that Lakulish propagated

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1. अस्यां पूर्व्वायां भगवत्कुशिकाद्दशमेन भगवत्परा शरच्चतुर्थेन भगवत्कपिलविमल शिष्य शिष्येण भगव (दुपमित) विमल शिष्येण आर्येदिताचार्य्येण स्वपुण्या व्यापन निमित्तं गुरुणा च कीत्यर्थमुपमितेश्वर कपिलेश्वरो गुर्व्वायतमे…प्रतिष्ठापितो (E. I. Vol XXI p. 8).
2. Hand Book of Sculptures in Mathura Museum p. 150 pillar no. 193.
3. Kusika was one of the main disciples of Lakulish.
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 281. It is a S'aiva record opening with ओं नमो शिवाय ।
5. भट्टारक श्री लकुलीश मूर्त्या तपः क्रिया कांडफलप्रदाता
   अवातरा द्विश्वमनुग्रहीतुं देवः स्वयं बाल मृगांक मौलिः (Ibid V. 14)
   Vayupurāṇa (23; 221–24) says the same.
6. अवतेरूश्वत्वारः पाशुपत व्रत विशेष ज्ञयार्थं
   इह कुशिक गार्ग्य कौरूप मैत्रेया इति तदंतसदः (Ibid V. 16).

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Pāśupata sect in Gujarāt and other parts of N. India near about 130 A. D. His figure on the coins of Huviska (2nd century A. D.) would also be taken as an evidence to prove the prevalence of the Pāśupata form of Śaivism in Northern India during 2nd century A. D. The figure of Lakulish is also found on the doorway of the Kashmir temple (9th century A. D.) at Purāṇadisthāna[1]. In one of the records of Nātha temple (10th Cent. A. D.) near Udaipura (Rājaputānā) Lakulish has been described. Thus we can say that from 2nd century to 10th century A. D. people paid their homage to Lakulish. The record of this period shows that the Pāśupata was known by two different names viz. (A) Pāśupata[2] and (B) Lakulisha Pāśupata[3]. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkara Lakulish was the general name by which the Śaiva sect[4] was known. Because of its foundation by Lakulish, it has also been referred to as Lakulish Pāśupata. The first name Pāśupata rose by dropping the name of human individual Lakulish and substituting that of god Paśupati. In general appearance both besmear their bodies with ashes[5]. The study of the record (dated 971 A. D.) in the Nātha temple (near Udaipura, Rājaputānā) supports the above statement.[6] The record near Eklinga (Udaipura) opens with the Mantra 'Om Namo Lakulisāya' (ओं नमो लकुलीशाय)[7] and suggests that Śaiva cult was famous as the Lakulish school. It refers to the history of Lakulin (the founder of the sect) and his successor Kuśika[8] who was much conversant with

1. A. S. I A. R. 1915–16 p. 49 : Ibid 1906–07 p. 179; Ant. monuments of Kashmir p. 114.
2. Mentioned in the several records in the succeeding pages.
3. Nadalai stone inscription of Rajyapala dated 1142 A. D. (E. I. Vol. XI p. 39).
4. Vaiṣṇavism and S'aivism (collected works Vol. IV p. 172).
5. The word भस्मसार्थी used for Pāśupata ascetic in Chedi record (I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 210) : Beal Vol II pp. 45 and 271.
6. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII p. 166.
7. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII p. 166.
8. The same is reffered in Mathura inscription of Chandra Gupta II (E. I. Vol. XXI).

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Pāśupata Yoga. The other reference of Pāśupata sect in Rājaputāna is found in Chāhamāna stone inscription of Vigrahārāja[1] (1030 V. S.) where one Śaiva ascetic named Allata is said to have erected a Śiva temple and his disciple Praśasta has been described as true worshipper of Pāśupata Śiva[2]. Another record dated 1153 A. D. refers to a great Pāśupata priest-viśveswar projñā who adorned the temple of siddheswar[3]. Therefore there is no doubt that in 10th century A. D. the popular name of the cult became Pāśupata replacing Lakulish as mentioned above. The Kalachuri kings were also ardent follower of Pāśupata sect[4]., so most of the records speak on the subject. The Bherāghāt inscription of Alhaṇa Devi (wife of Gāngeyadeva Chedi 11th Cent. A. D.) mentions the foundation of Śiva temple and its management assigned to ascetic of Pāśupata sect an immigrant from Lāta[5] (a famous centre of Śaivism), In another Chedi record the erection of Śaiva[6] temple by Pāśupata monk named Bhāva has been mentioned. This ascetic (Sanyāsi) has been described as expert in Yoga and Tapa; having loin cloth (कोपिनवसन) and besmearing ashes in the body (भस्मसायी). Therefore the actions of the ascetic prove him to be a true Pāśupata Sanyāsi. Probably the Śiva temples were connected with Maṭha and Sanyāsi (mostly of Pāśupata sect) lived in them. This is echoed from the Chahmāna record (noted above) mentioning Pāśupata priest namely Visveśwar Prajñā who adorned the temple of Siddheśwar Śiva[7]. Another monk

1. Harsh stone inscription (E. I. Vol. II p. 123).
2. दीक्षाजातमलध्वन्सविस्फुर ज्ञाननिर्मलः
   प्रशस्ताख्यो भवच्छिष्यस्तस्य पाशुपतःकृती (Ibid V 29)
   आसीन्नैष्ठिक रूपो यो दीप्त पाशुपत व्रतः
   तीव्रवेग तमो जात पुण्यापुण्यमलक्षयः (Ibid V. 35)
3. Rājaputānā Museum Report 1923 p. 2.
4. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 77.
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 13 (V. 31).
   लाटान्वय पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्री रूद्रराशिर्व्विधिवद्व्यधत्ताम्
   स्थानस्य रक्षाविधिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिमीते भुवनानिशम्भुः ।
6. I. A. Vol. 18 p. 210.
   अभ्यस्त यः पाशुपतं च योगं तपः कर्मरतोनित्यं कर्म संयासिकोपि यः
7. A. R. Rājaputānā Museum 1922-23 p. 2.

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Sri Vālmika was also called Ācharya of Pāśupata school[1]. The Bhinmal record (1067 A. D.) of Paramāra family speaks of Jāvala, a Pāśupata ascetic who was a devotee of Mahādeva.[2] Hence it may be stated that Pāśupata school was popular in Malwā, Madhya Pradesh and Rājaputānā from 10th to 12th century A. D. except Udaipura area where Lakulish school was functioning in 10th century A. D. A solitary reference of Pāśupata school is found in the eastern part of N. India i.e. in the record of Pāla ruler Nārāyaṇapāla who is said to have built 1000 Śiva temples and where he provided seats and medicine to the congregation of Pāśupata teachers.[3] Probably the whole establishment (temple, Maṭha and alms-house) was controlled by Pāśupata Pariṣad whose members might have migrated to that area from the west i.e. Rajaputāna or Madhya Pradesa. Thus it is clear that Pāśupata school has spread from Lāta (S. Gujarāta) to Bengal and followed by the people.

The epigraphic records of this period mention another cult of Śaiva religion named Kāpālika. We learn from *Kūrmapurāṇa*[4] that Kāpālika was important section of Śaiva faith. It is described along with other two sects, Pāśupata and Lakulisha and Vaisṇavism as main religious sects of the period. The theories and practices of Kāpālika[5] are most

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1. E. I. Vol. XXV p. 185 dated 1163 A. D.
   श्री भोजनगरे श्री सोमेश्वर देवे मठनिवासी परम
   पाशुपत आचार्य भट्टारक श्री भाववाल्मिकः
2. E. I. Vol V (appex.) p. 93 no. 689.
3. I. A. Voi. XV p. 306 तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितस्य भगवतःशिवभट्टारकस्य पाशुपत आचार्य परिषदश्च यथार्ह बलिचरू सत्र.....शयनासनग्लान प्रत्यय भैषज्य परिष्कारार्थं ।
4. कापालं लाकुलं वाममैरवं पूर्वपश्चिमम् ।
   पांचरात्रं पाशुपतं तत्रान्यानि सहसुशः (Kurma Purana ch. 16)
5. From the Malati Madhava (a 8th cent. drama) we know that chief character was कापालिक monk who worked as Priest of Chamunda. They held Sākta ideas. The nun had skull neklace.

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revolting in character. Among others, besmearing the body with ashes of dead body, eating food in the skull and keeping a pot of wine etc. may be noted. These practices probably have some thing to say about the Tāntric influence on Śaivism. The Kāpālika practices are connected with work of terrible nature and the devotee's aim was to get salvation and subjugate senses but not the sensual pleasure. The two inscriptions from Rājaputānā refer to the Kāpālika ascetics. The record of Udaipura[1] dated V. S. 1229 deals with the construction of monastery near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the residence of Kāpilla ascetics i. e. Kāpālikas. In another epigraph of Hammira of Ranathambhora[2] Kāpālika Śiva has been mentioned showing that this particular sect developed after Lakulisha Pāśupata in the vicinity of Udaipura during 12th century A. D.[3] The inscriptions of our period are silent about Kashmira Śaivism[4] which has been described by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as more human and rational in comparision with ghasty and cruel penances of Kāpālikas[5]. The same is the case of Kālamukha sect—a name not found in the early mediaeval documents, whose secret practices were the main reasons for its extinction.

Nāth Cult of S'aivism.

This nomenclature was given to the cult after the name of its founder Gorakha Nāth or Matsyendra Nāth and his successors had the same name ending (Nāth). There is a difference of opinion regarding the origin of Nāth cult. One view is

1. A. R. of Rājaputānā Museum 1922–23 p. 2.
2. E. I., Vol. XIX p. 47 (Prayer to कापालीश्वर शिव)
3. In S'ankaradigvijaya (Chapter 15) Madhava brings Śankara into contact with Kāpālikas near Ujjayini. This supports to some extent the above statement that Kāpālikas were living in Mālvā and Rājaputānā. They also lived in Nalandā (Wallers Vol. II p. 44)
4. At one place Kalhana mentioned Paśupata sect (Raj. Taranga III, 267).
5. Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism (Collected works Vol. IV p. 183)

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that it originated from estoric practices of Tantrayāna when some Buddhist accepted Śaiva faith. Others say that it is a separate cult of Śaivism. It represents that Particular shool which holds that salvation could be gained by severe penances (हठयोग). It contains the rites and rituals of heterogeneous nature like Tāntric Buddhism. It is more probable that Yogic elements got themselves associated with different schools of Hinduism and Buddhism giving rise to a different esoteric school called Nāth sect. The followers of Nāth cult admit singing and dancing as important mode of religious expression. The class of Kānaphatā Yogis beg from door to door singing songs, so Kānphatā has been identified with Nāth ascetics. The gold coin of Bappā Rāwal has a similar effigy of Kānphatā below the Śiva linga on the obverse side[1]. This king is also known from the Eklingaji inscription[2], north of Ūdaipura (Rājaputānā). Thus it may be suggested that during 10th century A. D. some ascetic did follow the principles of Nāth cult and practised penances. Briggs has expressed[3] this opinion that Kāpālika school was introduced by Nāthas. The Nāth cult and Kāpālika may be taken as contemporary sects followed in the same area. The order of Jogi ascetics has many features in common with the Kāpālikas. It is worth noticing that Eklingaji record of Bappā Rāwal opens with 'Om Lakulisaya namah' whereas his coin bears the figure of linga and Kānphatā on the same side of it. This should not be taken as accidental engraving on the coin but this might support the contention that king was tolerent in his religious behaviour towards the different sects of Śaiva faith. Ghurye is of opinion that Nāthapantha was divided into two—*Aughara and Kānphatā*. The way of representing the organisation of Nāthapanthis does not seem to be absolutely correct and has actually led to some undesirable confusion[4].

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1. N. S. Vol. XI P. 273, 1927
2. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 22 p. 237
3. Briggs—Gorakhanāths and Kanphata p. 237
4. Indian Sadhus p. 151

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Matta, Māyūra

In the period under review a new branch of Śaiva cult was known as Matta Māyūra—(a place in Madhya Pradesh) probably the family of Śaiva ascetics known after this name. In several records of Madhya Pradesh (10th or 11th cent. A. D.) we find references to spiritual geneology of Matta Māyūra.

Bilhari record (E. I. Vol. I p. 251) mentions two different groups of ascetics. The second group had nine disciples and Rudra Sambhu has a pupil Matta Māyūra Nāth. Chandrehe and Gurgi records (near Rewah state) throw further light and contain the list of Matta Māyūra ascetics who received Agrahāra villages and other properties. Prabhava Śiva was the abbot of Matta Māyūra line and he was gifted elephants and horses in donation by Haihaya kings. In Gwalior region the land was donated to Brahmacharina and Āchārya of Matta Māyūra clan (E. I. Vol. I p. 354).

There is a view that Matta Māyūra was probably situated in Gujrata (E. I. Vol. III p. 266-301) and it was in the reign of Yuvarajadeva I that this branch of Śaivaism got fillip. He under the influeuce of queen Nohalā invited several Ācharyas of Matta Māyūra clan to Chedi country. The prince built magnificient Śiva temples and monasteries for them at many places (near Bheraghat, Jabalpur). These Āchāryas exercised a profound, influence on the political and religious history of the Age (C. I. I. Vol. IV Introd).

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CHAPTER IX

Sakti Cult, Sun Worship and other Minor Sects.

I Śakti Cult.

The cult of universal mother was trnsferred into the cult of Śakti identified with the energy (Śakti) of Śiva. Though Śakti cult is the result of Tantric Hinduism the divine Śakti has got its relation with Vedic culture. The Āryan aspect of Śakti is more allied to creative side while non-Āryan is more concerned with the destructive side of the divine nature. Hence we find the combination of Āryan and non-Āryan elements in Śakti cult[1]. She was invested with the function of energing her husband, in fact, using him as instrument of creative activities. According to some philosophical view that Śakti and *Śaktimat* (the being possessing energy) are non-distinguishable (अभिन्न) i. e. it is not possible to keep Śakti and Śiva separate[2].

Śakti is the great mother out of whom all creation comes, Māyā without whose association *Brahman* is unable to create and *Prakṛti* which alone brings the world into being. So we have wide prevalence of Śakti worship in India and is responsible for many *Devī* images. The destruction is more palpable expression than the two (creation and preservation) functions of the Śakti, hence we find most of the images of our period depicting the aspect of destruction. Mythologically these are principally connected with Śiva. but there are some which have Vaiṣṇavite association, i. e. Saraswatī and Lakshmī—the consorts of Viṣṇu are also represented in the early mediaeval art. When tāntric rituals were connected with Paurānic mythology, the Śakti was worshipped in different forms such as Mahākāli, Mahālakshmi and Mahā-

1. The foundation of living faiths by H. Bhattacharya p. 238. (No support in the favour of the statement).
2. Kieth – Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanisadas Vol. I p. 128.

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sarswati. The followers of Śakti are called Śāktas who organised in separate cult after 8th century A. D. and gained prominence during the period under review. The cult of Śiva-Śakti corresponds to Prajñā and Upāya of Tāntric Buddhism[1] and on account of prominence of Tāntricism different Śakti forms (lower divinity called Yogini) have been noticed. Near Bherāghat we have hypaethral granite structure dedicated to 64 Yoginis which was created between 900-1100[2] A. D. In Chausata Yogini temple (near Bherāghāt) we find 44 images of Śakti (being mostly names of Durgā and Sapta Matrikas) in different forms and with skeleton body. Most of them have pedestal inscriptions. Such Yogini temples are very few and besides Bherāghāt, Khajurāho and Surādā (in Pattan State, Orissa) have other such temples[3]. This points out to the Tāntric influence on Śākta faith.

Though we find the preludes of the inscriptions begin with prayer of Durgā (*Ugra* form of Śakti), in the iconography both forms (*Saumya* and *Ugra*) are represented. The latter is more popular than former. In Pratihāra reeord of Mahendrapāla this goddess is described with different names. The inscription begins with prayer of Durgā (Mahiṣāsurmardini) but mentions the shrine of Vata-Yakshiṇi Devī (name of Durgā) whose management was intrusted to a Śaiva Maṭha[4]. In the second epigraph she is referred to by the names of of Kānchan Devi, Sarbamangalā Devi or Ambā[5]. In another record she is prayed in the following words[6]—

दुर्गा जयाख्ये प्रबला सुरौ च्चर्विध्वंसनीस्तोत्र परम्पराभिः ।
दुर्गांस्तुवन्नेष सदैवभक्त्या कृताञ्जलिः पुण्यतमामुपास्ते ॥

The goddess like her consort Śiva had her Ugra form represented in the early mediaeval art. A good many images

1. We know that Tantricism flourished after 8th century A. D. (Kern's Buddhism p. 133).
2. C. A. S. R. Vol. X 57 : I. A. Vol. 37 p. 132.
3. C. A. S. R. Vol. IX p. 72–74.
4. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 177–184.
5. Ibid Vol. IX p. 325.
6. Ibid Vol. I p. 334 (Verse 24).

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depicting the above form have come to light from northern India. It is very likely also that Śiva-Śaktī cult was a federation of two originally independent faiths and Durgā had already been so separately extolled that it was not possible to bring her into a subsurvient relation to Śiva. The most important icon is Mahiṣāsurmardinī type whose independent worship was popular through-out India. In this we have eight or ten armed goddess fighting with the demon issuing out of the decapitated trunk of a buffalo.

Durgā is the most popular name of the goddess often represented as destroyer of the demon (buffalo) and thus called Mahiṣāsurmardinī[1]. In iconography different forms of Śakti have been carved and discovered mostly in Bengal (which was the home of Tāntricism in the Pāla age). The images of Śakti are represented with two, four, eight or ten arms. From Tipera two armed Durgā is a beautiful specimen of Bengal school[2]. Similarly from other places four armed or eight armed goddesses with different attributes have been discovered in U. P.[3] and East Bengal[4].

A very interesting image of armed goddess slaying demon was discovered in Manbhum district[5] and another black stone ten armed specimen of Mahiṣāsurmardinī is known from Dacca[6]. The other figures in the destructive mood is known as Kālī and her image is popularly worshipped in Bengal[7]. Durgā was considered many and this gives us nine forms of the goddess. In the relief of Nava-Durgā nine figures of Mahiṣāsurmardinī are grouped together and the central figure is 18 armed[8]. In an official record the

1. Mārkandeya Purāna contains a section called Devī Mahātmya describing the activities of Durgā.
2. A. S. I. 1935–35 p. 120.
3. Brahmanical image in Mathura art p. 58 no. D12, 13.
4. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture p. 115 pl. LVI.
5. A. S. I. 1928–29 Pl. LIV (a)
6. Icona. of Dacca Museum Pl. LXVI.
7. E. Ind. school of Med. Sculpture Pl. LXII
8. History of Bengal Vol. I Pl. XII no. 35

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temple of Nava-Durgā[1] has been mentioned and the grant was given for the worship and the repair of the temple[2].

Second interesting group of Śakti icons consists of Mātṛika images. Mātṛikas are usually seven in number and they really represent the personified energy of several of the well-known Brahmanical deities. Their names are Brahmāṅi, Māhesvarī, Kaumārī, Indrāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī and Chāmuṇḍā. They are generally carved in a row on a single slab of stone and are found all over India[3]. They are recognised by particular attributes and Vāhana. The figure of *Sapta Mātrika* are mostly sitting but in chausatha yogini temple (Jabalpur area) the dancing *Sapta Matrikas* have been represented. Images are very common in Rājaputānā and Madhya Pradesh. Among them Chāmuṇḍā is most popular and represented seated on dead body. The image of Chāmuṇḍā has also been found in Bengal[4] carved on a slab. A ten armed image has been found in Dinājpur[5] and twelve armed standing icon of Chāmuṇḍā[6] represents her Siddhayogeśvari aspect as mentioned in Agni Purāṇa. The figure with its bare canine teeth, ghasty smile and pendulous breasts portrays in a remarkable manner the weired and the uncanny[7].

Alberuni refers to the priests of Chāmuṇḍā who killed goat, buffalo with axe and nourished themselves with blood[8]. This shows that animals were sacrificed in the temple of Śakti. Such sacrifice was also common in the temple of

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1. शैलपुत्री, ब्रह्मचारिणी, चन्द्रघण्टा, कुष्माण्डी, स्कन्धमाता, कात्यायिनी, कालरात्रि, महागौरी, सिद्धमाता च नव दुर्गा प्रकीर्तिताः
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 159 (नवदुर्गायतनाय च पूजा संस्कारार्थम्) Gangadhar record of kumaragupta I refers to matrika but names not given.
3. Ancient monuments of kashmira p. 116
4. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture Pl. LXIII
5. J. A. S. B. (N. S.) Vol. XXVIII Pl. IX fig. 3
6. V. R. S. R. 1936-38 p. 27-28 fig. 4
7. V. S. P. Cat. Pl. XX
8. Sachau Vol. I p. 120

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Kamakhyā Devī in Assam[1]. Thus we find that in her terrible forms of Kāli, Durgā (Mahiṣāsurmardinī) and Chāmuṇḍā, she has exacted the homage of the worshippers as the consort of Rudra (Śiva).

Besides *Ugra* form of Sakti several and different varieties of *Saumya* aspect have come to light. The commonest variety of standing four armed *Devī* (higher divinity) images are described as Chaṇḍī by scholars. Her attributes are lingam with rosary, trident, vase and pomegranate along with attendants. Such images are common in Bengal and reliefs can be dated[2] in 11th century A. D. The unique Dacca image of Chaṇḍī with an inscription dated in the year 3 of Lakshamaṇasena has couchant lion for her vehicle and holds Ankuśa, Padma, Kamandalu and Vara[3] in her hands. According to Bhattasali Chaṇḍī like Gajalakshmi when bathed by elephants is called Bhuvanesvarī[4]. Another most interesting image is metallic icon of Sarvāṇī[5] (7th century A. D.) who is standing on the back of a lion, double lotus and triratha pedestal. A stone images of goddess stands erect on a pedestal having the figure of lion with one of its paws raised. This fine specimen belongs to Pāla school of Indian art[6]. A two armed standing image of Śakti on Pancharatha pedestal has been discovered in Tippera. The icon has all the *Parivāradevatā* Gaṇpati, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Kārttikeya carved in a row on the top of pointed stela. She has full blossomed blue lotus in her left hand while right is in *Varada Mudrā*[7]. A quite similar image of Devi four armed with *Parivāradevas* has been illustrated by Bhattasali who calls her Ugra-Tārā[8]. The presence of five

1. Elliot–Hinduism and Buddhism Vol. II p. 288–90
2. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture p. 116 Pl. LVII (a)
3. E I. Vol. XVII p. 359
4. Iconog. of Dacca Museum p. 202 Pl. LXIX
5. History of Bengal Vol. I Pl. LX no. 147
6. E. Ind. School of Med. sculpture Pl. LVI (a)
7. A. S. I. 1935–36 p. 120–21 Pl. XXXV (3)
8. Iconography of Dacca Museum Pl. LXXI (a)

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miniature figures on the top of the black slab is iconographically interesting and reminds the Buddhist conception of Vajra Tārā (the goddess of Vajrayāna pantheon) who is emanated from five Dhyānī Buddhas. She is described in Sādhanā as bearing on crown the images of five Dhyānī Buddhas[1]. It is undoubtedly Mahayāna influence[2] on Hindu images and the name is also copied as the icon in question is called Ugra Tārā[3].

Among seated images of Devī four armed Sarvamangalā[4], six armed Bhuvaneśwarī[5] and twelve armed icon identified as Mahālakshmī[6] are worth mentioning. They are seated on padmāsana (double lotus) with right leg dangling down. The double petalled lotus seat placed on the back of lion is characteristic of early mediaeval Indian art. Thus it may be suggested that the above images of Devī belong to the period under review.

Another half length figure of the female deity coming out of Linga has come to light. The icon is four armed and is in *Dhyana Mudrā* which has given the name of Mahāmāyā or Tripura Bhairavī by the archaeologists[7]. From Tippera an independent image of Pārvatī has been discovered with *Parivāradevatā* (Gaṇapati, Kārttikeya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) on halo side. She has elaborate decoration along with her Vāhana. Third eye is very prominent. The stela in black Chlorite with all other features points out that the image belongs to Pāla school of Indian sculpture of 12th century A. D.[8]

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1. Buddhist iconography p. 128 Sādhanamālā A 95
2. History of Bengal Vol. I p. 454
3. Tārā is the famous name of Buddhist goddess.
4. V. R. S. M. no. 1549
5. E. Ind. school of Med. Sculpture Pl. LVII (a)
6. V. R. S. M. no. 6
7. A. S. I. 1924–25 p. 155; Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. LXIV. Sri R. G. Bhandarkar was of opinion that the combined image of Śiva and Śakti was called Tripura-Sundari (Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism p. 146)
8. A. S. I. A. R. 1935–36 p. 120 Pl. 35 no. 3

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The independent images of Gaurī and Pārvatī have also been found in different parts of Northern India but mostly in Bengal with rosary, lotus, triśūla and water pot.

The goddesses associated with Viṣṇu cult are known as Lakshimī and Sarsvatī. They are depicted as chief attendants of Viṣṇu in the Sthānaka images of the god. But separate images of both are also known. Lakshmī when depicted alone is known as Gajalakshmī—goddess in the act of being bathed by two elephants and such images has been discovered in Rājasāhi district[2]. Separate Sarasvatī found in Northern India are usually four armed. The normal two hands play Vīṇa and other right holds rosary and other left has a book[3]. It is strange that barring the Śakti of Śiva, none became a definite cult object, though isolated images of Lakshmī, Sarasvatī and the Gangā etc. are found here and there all over India.

Other Goddesses.

In iconographic representation of early mediaeval period we find many artistic specimens of negative goddesses as Śītalā, Saṣṭhi and Manasā who were prayed not so much for granting the worshipper any boon but granting them peaceful family life. Śitalā is taken as adoption of Buddhist goddess Hārītī and hence in art Śītalā is regarded as protectress of children in Northern India from disease (small pox). She has child in her left lap and right hand holds leafty branch in the sculptures of Pāla period[4].

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1. Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 198–202 Pl. LXVIII one installed in the reign of Nārāyṇapāla at Odantapura I. A. 1918 p. 110.
2. V. R. S. Report 1926–27 fig. 9; E. I. Vol. XI p. 139 (seal of Gajalakshmi) Brahmanical images in Mathura Art p. 49 no. 1119
3. Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. LXIII
4. A. S. I. 1934–35 p. 80 pl. XXIV (b) It is held that originally Buddhist Hārītī was stealer of children as shown in the Gandhara art.

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Another icon of a goddess known as Ṣaṣṭī has come to light, who is also taken as protectress of children. She is not known in the Purāṇas, hence it appears that Ṣaṣṭhī was worshipped in the society other than Āryan. She is worshipped on the 6th day of the child birth or she is the presiding deity on the 6th day of the birth of a child, hence named Ṣaṣṭhī. In modern days mothers go to worship Saṣṭhī on a place near tank (commonly called Ṣaṣṭhītala (षष्ठीताल) for the welfare of their children. In Bengal and Bihar the famous Ṣaṣṭhī is that of Kārtika month and called Goṣaṣṭhī. Her image with child is known from Bengal[1].

The third female deity named Manasā—the snake goddess, is also worshipped by Hindus so that they may remain safe. This goddess (Manasā) occupies a some what indefinite position in the Brahmanical pantheon. Her name is not found in earlier literature and attempt has been made to explain away her name in mediaeval literature. N. K. Bhattasali is inclined to identify her with the Buddhist snake goddess Janguli[2] (goddess of wild). Manasā appears to have been imported into Bengal from Southern India. The Manasā cult of Bengal obtained a footing during 11th-12th centuries A. D.[3] as large number of Manasā icons[4] found in Bengal support the above statement. Bronze 4 armed image of Manasā has also been unearthed at Pāhādpur[5] having a child in her lap.

Note—Śītalā is associated in many features with Jyeṣṭhā a folk goddess of South India. The salutation Mantra of Śītalā contains noticiable character of Jyesthā (नमामि शीतलां देवीं राजभस्थां दिगम्बराम्)

1. A. S. R. Vol. III p. 124–Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhanj p. 38 Pl. XV
2. Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 221
3. Ibid p. 224
4. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture Pl. LXIV. Icong. in Dacca Museum Plates LXXII (b) and Pl. LXXIII
5. A. S. M. no. 55 Pl. 38 (g)

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Therefore it appears that besides main Śakti images minor goddesses were also worshipped in Bengal in second half of our period (700–1200 A. D.). An inscribed four handed Vāgisvari image (C. 940 A. D.) from Nālandā and other figure of the same goddess in Octo-alloy (with 8 hands) from Rājasāhi may be mentioned. In the wake of Tāntric revival, the Dasa-Mahāvidyās (Kālī, Tārā, Shodasi, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhumavatī, Bagalā, Mātangī and Gaja-Lakshmī), obviously modelled on the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu, were added at a later time in Hindū pantheon.

II Sūrya Worship

The Sun god has a very important place among the Hindu deities and is next in popularity to that of Viṣṇu throughout Northern India during the period under review. Sūrya cult was probably the survival of Vedic worship but according to Sri R. G. Bhandarkar the Sun worship of early mediaeval period (as is well known) has nothing to do with Vedic solar diety, and was most probably a scythic importation to India[1]. But it was accepted by the mass of the Hindu as a general worship of Sun and the feeling which is evoked, could not have been different from those of Vedic worship. The manner in which the devotion to Sun is expressed in the inscriptions has nothing special or fereign in it. Like Viṣṇu and Śiva, Sūrya could not be personified to a very great extent he was offered oblation by Brāhmaṇas as Vedic diety. The images of Sun god are most numerous and worshipped by the devotees in early mediaeval period.

Sūrya is a great source of life and health and perhaps this particular function of Sūrya (namely guarding and protecting the health of the people) was not forgotten till 12th century A. D. In a image epigraph of 1000 A. D.

1. Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism (Collected work Vol. IV p. 221) The representation of Surya in Brahmanical Art. (I. A. 1925 pp. 161, 171)

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Sūrya is described as *Sri Takmi Dinakarina Bhattaraka* (श्री तकमी दिनकारिन् भट्टारक)[1] where the word Takami (तकमी) is very significant. In *Atharva Veda* (BK 1, 4-6, 9) the hymn contains the word Takamana (तकमन) in the sense of a disease. Therefore Sūrya is described as healer of leprosy and skin diseases including Takamana. The image having the pedestal inscription was special icon for the worship by the sickmen[2] (Takmins). This fact is mentioned in a 12th century record engraved on the back side of the Sun image (Dinājpur). It describes Sun as curer of all diseases and illuminator of the world[3]. Another similar iconographic evidence (to support the above view) is found in the Gorhwa image of Sūrya as late as 12th eentury A.D. Here the figure of Aśvinas (Horse headed) are carved at the extreme left with pot full of Amṛta. In Puraṇas the Aśvinas are described as physicians of god (देवभिषजो). This association of Aśvinas with Sūrya image was to point out the guardianship of Sūrya with health of the people. However, Sun worship is most popular in masses and Sun is ivoked daily by reciting Gāyatṛi (familiar to scholars in its appellation Sāvitṛi) twice born in India.

Maga and Sun Worship

Ii is difficult to fix a date of the origin of Sun worship in anthopomorphic form, but according to R. G. Bhandarkar the Indo-Iranian Sun worship was introduced in India in the early centuries of the Christian era[6]. A Magian immigra-

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1. E. I. Vol. XXVII p. 25. The word दिनकारिन् is not the correct form. It should be दिनकर for Sun.
2. Ibid pl. A
3. J. A. S. B. (N. S.) Vol. 26 p. 147 pl. 2
   सूर्यःसमस्त रोगानां हर्त्ता विश्व प्रकाशकः
4. J. U. P. H. S. p. 40
5. Epic Mythology by Hopkins p. 168 ; A classical dictionary of Hindu mythology p. 30. *Vaidika Sahitya* by B. Upadhyay p. 499.
6. Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism p. 153-55

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tion from Persia[1] or Scythia (Śakadvīpa) probably popularised this cult and hence fine temples were built to enshrine the images of Sun. These Maga people have been connected with Sun worship as mentioned in Bhavisya Purāṇa[2] and later on they were classed as Śākadvipī Brāhmaṇas. According to Varāhmihira, the idol of Sun was consecrated by Maga Brāhmaṇa[3]. The association of Magian with Sun worship was also known to Alberuni who wrote that the priest to minister the idol of Sun was nominated from a class named Maga or Maggians[4], Some epigraphic references[5] are valuable in this respect pointing out the immigration of Maga Brāhmaṇas from Scythia or Śakadvīpa to India.

देवो जीया त्रिलोकी मणिरयमरूणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः
शाकद्वीपस्स दुग्धाम्बु निधि वलयितो यत्र विप्रो मगाख्या[6]

The epigraphic documents supplying valuable information regarding the Sun worship and good many artistic specimens discovered from all over Northern India testify to the popular following of Sun cult during the period from 700-1200 A. D.

Sun Temple and Sun Worship

Before coming to our period it will be interesting to note that the construction of Sun Temple has been mentioned in Gupta records of 5th century A. D. (In the reign of Kumāra Gupta I a temple was built in the honour of Sun by the guild at Mandasora (Mālwā area) and another was erected by oil guild in Madhyadesh while Skanda Gupta was ruling. The records open with the prayer of Sun called

1. S. K. Hodivala has collected all evidences to show Maga were the Persian Magi (Parsis of Ancient India Ch. 10)
2. मकरो भगवान देवो भास्कर परिकीर्तित ;
   मकरध्यान योगाश्च मगाह्येते प्रकीर्तिता ।
   Bhavisya Purāṇa Chap. 134
3. Brihatasamhita chapter 60
4. Sachau Vol. I p. 121
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 333
6. Ibid.

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Bhaskara[1] or Sabitā and also describe the Sun temple.[2] In the succeeding age Thāneswara Kings Rājyavardhana I, Āditya-vardhana and Mahārāja Prabhākara Vardhana were the worshippers of Sun god[3].

Even the foreign invader Hūṇa chief Toramaṇa adopted the Sun cult and due to the devotion he issued coins in Central India with wheel symbol and named his son-Mihira. The Gwaliar stone inscription of the 15th year of Mihirakulā records the erection of temple of Sun god[4]. That region of Rājaputānā, Central India and Madhyadesh continued to be the centre of Sun worship and the epigraphic records hailing from these areas open with the syllable नमो सूर्याय[5] or ओं नमः सूर्याय [6] along with the prayer of the Sun god. These attest to the fact that the donor or issuer was the follower of Sun-cult. Bhimamal record of Udayasinghdeva (Jodhpur region) begins with the prayer to sun.[7]

Another inscription describes the worship of Sun with flower and leaves of *nima* tree on Sunday[8]. It should be carefully noted that Sun worship had a connection with the week day named after the god and several land grants of northern India mention the worship of Sun (from 10th to 12th centuries A. D.) on that day. A Chāhamāna epigraph records a gift of land in 12th century A. D. for the wor-

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1. हेतुर्य्यो जगतः क्षयाभ्युदयो पायात्सवो भास्करः or तस्मै सवित्रेनमः
   (Mandasora inscription C. 1. 1. Vol. III p. 81)
   पायद्वः स जगत् . . . . . न पट-भिद्रश्म्या करो भास्करः
   (Indor C. P. of Skanda Gupta C. 1. 1. III p. 70)
2. श्रेणी भूतैर्भवनमतुलं कारितं दीप्तारमे (C. 1. 1. III p. 81)
3. Madhubana plate of Harsh (E. 1. Vol I. p. 72 परमादित्यभक्त)
4. C. 1. 1. III p. 161
5. E. I. Vol. XI p. 55, I. A. Vol. XVI p. 63
6. E. I. Vol. XXII no. 11
7. E. I. Vol. XI p. 55–7
   यस्योदयास्तसमये सुरमुकुट निधृष्ट चरणकमलोपि ।
   कुरुतेऽजलिंत्रिनेत्रः स जयतिधाम्नांनिधि. सूर्यः ।
8. Ibid Vol. XXII no. 11 p. 59 (रवेर्व्वारे)

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ship of this deity[1], mentioned by the name of Indrāditya. The same is mentioned in a land grant of Ujjain during the rule of Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla[2] II (942 A. D.). Gāhaḍavāla rulers were not apathetic towards this god but donated for the worship of Sun[3]. The king Jayachanda is said to have gifted many villages to the god named Lollāraka[4]. In the Basantgarh inscription of Paramāra king we have an account of restoration of Sun temple by the widow of the king[5] and there the deity is called Bhānu. Similar instance of maintaining the Sun temple is not wanting[6]. The foreign travellers have also given the account of Sun worship during 10th to 11th centuries[7] A. D. Alberuni's account for Multān Sun image is very illuminating. The icon of Sun god (Aditya) was installed in a magnificient temple which had become the centre of pilgrimage. When Mahmud conquerred Multān in 11th century A. D. he found the city in the flourishing and prosperous condition, and enquired how so much wealth had been accumulated there. The answer was simple that the idol was the cause of the prosperity i. e. amassed money has been offered by the devotee[8] coming to Multāna[9]. Alberuni also saw a huge image of Sun in the city of Thāneswar called Chakraswami[10].

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1. E. I. Vol. IX p. 63
2. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 178
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 186; I. A. Vol. XV p. 9
4. देवश्री लोलार्काय (E. I. Vol. IV p. 129)
5. गृहं कारितमाश भानोः (E. I. Vol. IX p. 13)
6. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 181
7. Al Idrisi account of Multān Sun idol is very informative (Elliot-History Vol. I p. 82)
8. Sachau Vol. 1 p. 110
9. The idol of Multān has been described in Skanda Purāṇa by the name of Bhāskara.
   ततोगच्छेन्महादेवि मूलस्थानमिति श्रुतम्
   देविकायास्तटे रम्ये भास्करं वारितस्करम्।
   मूलस्थान is the original name of Multan.
10. Sachau Vol. I p. 117

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Some time earlier in Kashmīr a marvellous temple of Mārtaṇḍa[1] (Sun) was erected by a ruler with massive stone walls which is still in Situ[2].

The popularity of Sun worship was not limited to the western part of northern India but the people of eastern region also expressed their devotion by donation or installing Sun images. The large number of icons of Sun god found in eastern India during the supremacy of Buddhist Pāla kings testify to the popularity of Sun worship. The solar worship in Orissa culminated in the stupendous structure at Konārka which still stands on the sandy coast of the state. Kapil Saṁhita locates the story of Samba and his miraculous cure from leprosy at Konārka by the help of Surya. Originally the story was located in N. W. India (A. S. R. 1902-3 p. 47) and thence it was transferred to Orissa. The charters issued from Bengal and Bihar during 8th century A. D. support the above contention. A record from Gomati Kottak describes the continuance of a grant to the Sun deity named Barunaswāmī[3] while another inscription from the back slab of Sun icons speaks of Sun as समस्त रोगानां हर्त्ता विश्व प्रकाशकः[4] The Sena rulers Keshavasena and Viśvarupasena have been given the title Paramasaura[5] (परम सौर) pointing out their firm devotion in this deity. In this conclusion it may be stated that entire epigraphic evidence outline the following of Sun worship and that too with different names like Viṣṇu and Śiva stated above.

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1. Raj. Tarnaga IV, 192
2. Ancient Momuments of Kashmir Pl. XXIII
3. Deö Barnak inscription (C. 1. 1. Vol. III) The Shahpur image inscription of Adityasena (672 A. D.) who succeeded Varahanas in Eastern India relates to solar worship. (C. 1. 1. Vol. III)
4. J. A. S. B. Vol. 26 p. 147 pl. 2 (12th C. A. D.)
5. J. H. Q. Vol. X, p. 118 and 132

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Different Names of the god.

The different names of Sun god indicate the devotion to that deity. These names are (A) Sūrya[1], (B) Indrāditya,[2] (C) Lollāraka[3], (D) Bhāskara[4], (E) Āditya[5], (F) Chakraswāmi[6], (G) Baruṇaswāmi[7] and (H) Martaṇḍa[8] which show that the god was worshipped by the people throughout northern India.

The study of the official records supplemented by the structural evidences would make a good case with regard to the subject under discussion. The literary and archaeological data examined together point out the religious attitude of the people and their sincere love for the deity. The dynastic records[9] hailing from the different parts of Northern India mentioning the erection of Sun temples and the shrines testify to the popularity of Sun worship. The temple at Khajurāho viz *Chhatra ko Patrā* and Osia Sun[10] shrine (near Jodhapur) are living examples of the following of that faith.

Different kinds of Sun Icons.

The most important archaeological material for the knowledge of Sun worship is the iconographic data which supply valuable information on the subject. The examination of early Sun images show that Sun icon carved in first century B. C. or 1st century A. D. are quite different from what we know to-day. The earliest representations of Sun

1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 55 ; Vol. XXII no. 11 ; Vol. IX p. 1-5 and p. 63 J. A. S. B. Vol. 26 p. 147
2. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 178
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 129
4. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 13 : A. S. I. A. R. 1902-3 p. 257 E. I. Vol. XX p. 133
5. Sachau Vol. I p. 110
6. Ibid p. 117
7. Deo Barnak inscription (C. 1. 1. Vol. III)
8. Raj. Tarang. III 467 IV. 192
9. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 182 ; Vol. V p. 117 : Vol. IX p. 63
10. Smith-History of Fine arts Pl. 68

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god are found at Bhājā[1] and Bodha Gaya[2] while Mathura[3] specimen is a bit later. Here Sun is riding a chariot drawn by two or four horses. According to Cunningham four horse feature is of Greek origin[4], which was imitated by Indian artists. It is in the Gupta period that we find Sun chariot drawn by seven horses. The description of *Matsya Purāṇa*[5] regarding seven horsed chariot can be compared with Gorhawa image of Gupta age. Why seven horses were adopted in the place of four during Gupta and post Gupta period is difficult to say. Probably the entire conception is scientific. Prof. Macdonell is correct that Sūrya's horses represent the ray whose constituent colours are seven in number[6]. This system was followed in post-Guta period and later on by the aritists of early mediaeval period or of Pāla school. If we compare the vast iconographic material contained in *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[7] as well as *Matsya Purāṇa* relating to Sun god with those of Sun icons we come to the conclusion that the description of Purānas fits on in the early mediaeval Sun icons. According to Purānic text the figure of Sun should have a fine moustache[8] and should be dressed in northern fashion.[9] Sūrya should have four arms and be decked with all appropriate ornaments. In the hands the deity should hold the Sun beams and on the left of Sūrya there should be the good looking figure of Daṇḍa and the dark coloured figure of Piṅgala on the right,

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1. Four horse chariot (Kuśāṇa period)
2. Four horse chariot (Gaya and Bodha Gaya Vol. II Fig. no. 42)
3. Mathura Museum no. 269 (Two horsed chariot) coomarswamy–History of Art. fig. no. 103
4. A. S. I. R. Vol. III p. 97
5. Matsy Purāṇa Chap. 62
6. Vedic Mythology p. 31
7. Bhaviṣya Chapters 134–34. This can be compared with the image illustrated on Pl. XXII A. R. A. S. I. 1903–4 p. 438
8. Already discussed in the first part of the thesis.
9. Bṛihata Samhita (chapter 57) also mentions the same style of dress

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both dressed in the north Indian fashion. The figure of Sūrya should be placed in hexagonal chariot drawn by seven horses. The chariot should have one wheel and be shown to be driven by lame Aruṇa[1]. Sri N. K. Bhattasali has given some additional information regarding the directions for making Sun images. On the authority of Vangavāsī edition of *Matsya Purāṇa* (chap. 261) he has described that the feet of the Sun god on no account should be conceived or represented in the picture (covered from effulgence[2]), but the earlier Sun images[3] indicate that the description of Purānas can not be applied to them.

It has been tacitly concluded by scholars that the peculiar type of Sūrya icon worshipped in the northern India during Gupta or post-Gupta was Iranian in character[4]. But very few of them can be traced in the making of Indian images during post Gupta period. The Indian artists were entirely subjugated by the work that the alien characters were lost

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1. रविः कार्मश्शुभश्मश्रुः सिन्दूरारुणसुप्रभः ।
उदीच्य वेषस्स्वाकारस्सर्वाभरण भूषितः ।
चतुर्बाहुर्महातेजाः कवचेनाभिलंवृत ।
कर्तव्या रशना चास्य पानोपाङ्कुति संज्ञिता ।
स्वरूपरूपस्स्वाकारो दण्डः कार्योऽस्य वामतः ।
दक्षिणे पिङ्गते भागे कर्तव्यश्चति पिङ्गलः ।
आपीच्य वेषौ कर्तव्यौ ताम्रभावपि यादव ।
\+ + +
\+ + +
एकचक्रेचसप्ताश्वे षडश्रे वारथोत्तरे ।
उपविष्टस्तु कर्तव्यो देवो ह्यरुण सारथिः (मत्स्यपुराण)
2. Iconography in Dacca museum p. 150. The representation of Surya in Brahmanical art (I. A. 1925 p 161 H)
3. Cat. of Brahmanical images in Mathura art p. 70 no. 269 Similar dress is observed in the image of Kaniska (Coomarswamy – Hist. of Indian Art. fig. no. 65) and in the standard type of Samudra Gupta's coins (Bayana hoard Pl. II) (Dress consisting of Tunic, trousers and high boots)
4. Consisting of Tunic, trousers and high boots.

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sight of. The images assumed a varied character according to the diverse fancies of sculptors and diverse traditions of the Purāṇas and Śilpaśāstras. The sculptors in early mediaeval period endowed the image of Sun with ornaments and lotus flowers in two of his hands (which is Indian solar symbol). His seven horse chariot is also indigeneous in character. It is true that the *Udichya vesh* (mentioned in the texts) was not fully understood by the artists and boots were unintelligable to them. It may be suggested that the type of image was evolved first and then rules were laid down in the texts. So we find the central Sun icon and the attendants have their feet encased in some sort of legging. Some time feet left uncarved and shown as inserted in the pedestal or what stands for chariot, and on account the legs should be left bare. Gradually this alien character of the image of Sun was lost sight of in South India where sculptors made sun-images with carved feet (not booted) while their brother artists in northern India made booted legs.

Sun images have been carved at many centres in different periods. The output of Sun icons during our period under review is more in Bihar and Bengal than any other state[1] of India. The specimens of Sūrya images of 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era come from Magadha[2] Dacca as well as Rājasāhi districts[3]. The Indian Museum specimen[4] is a fine example of medieval art where the god stands on a low pedestal. Behind the head there is a circular halo reaching from the hips to the top of the *Kirita Mukuta*. His

1. Mathura museum has large number of Sūrya icons but carved during Kushan and Gupta periods (Cat. of Brahmanical images in Mathura art p. 66–70) A few sun icons are of early med. period (Ibid p. 70) Some images of Sun are also found in Rājaputānā (G. N. Rao. Elements of Hindu iconography Vol. I pt. II plates LXXXIX and Pl. XC (N. Indian style).
2. Pala & Sena Sculptures fig. 5 & 7
3. Ibid fig. 36 E. I. school of Med. schulpture Pl. LIX
4. Indian Museum, Calcutta no. 307

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locks are decorated with *Kirita Mukuta* and a lotus shaped earing. He bears a long necklace, a girdle and a *dhoti* (lower garment) fastened with an ornamental belt at the waist. It reaches to the boots. His two hands are bent and raised and each holds a lotus flower. Pingala to his right and Daṇḍin to his left are properly carved. His consorts Uṣā and Pratyuṣā are also represented. It is interesting to note that Aruṇa who is placed in front of the god and who has been described as Anūru i.e. thighless in the iconographic texts and represented as such in most of the sculptures, is depicted with his feet fully carved.[1] The chariot is drawn by seven horses and the representation of central horse is in the middle of the single wheel.[2]

About the middle of 8th century A. D. a new feature was introduced in the image of Sun god i.e. icon carved without feet. The artists of earlier period had already covered the feet by boots or boot-gear but in the new type the lower part of Sūrya is hidden up to thigh by the body of the car.[3]

In the earliest images the god is made to stand in such a manner in the hollow of the car so that his legs are invisible as in the case of Bodha Gaya railing.[4] In images from Bengal another expedient was employed. The sculptors fashioned the outline of the leg of the god and left them uncarved. The uncarved portion thus appeared as if covered by legging or boots[5], but they are not so in reality. Thus the boot probably may be the unfinished outline of Sūrya's uncarved legs. Such icons were common in Northern India[6] and they represent the artistic specimens of art from 8th to 12th century A. D. The two wives and two male

1. I. H. Q. Vol. IX fig. 1
2. A. R. Varendra R. Society 1926–27 fig. 1
3. Pala and Sena Sculptures by S. Kramisch fig. 5 (from Bihar 9th Cent. A. D.)
4. C. A. S. R. Vol. V
5. Pāla and Sena Sculptures (Frontis piece) Med. Ind. Sculptures by Chanda Pl. XX,
6. V. R. S. Museum Art. p. 70 nos. D. 3, 16, 33, 45

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attendants also have their legs and feet similarly covered[1]. There was specific reason in leaving the legs of Sun god uncarved. The passage in *Matsyā Purāṇa* quoted above directs that his attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala also should be dressed in northern fashion. The sculptors may have taken advantage of prescription to give boots to Sun god and to his attendants and thus the artists evaded representation of Sun's legs. But there is no passage in any text to this effect. Besides two armed Sun image we find four armed Sūrya icon at Multān as noticed by Al Idrisi[2]. A six armed Sūrya image has been discovered near Jabalpur[3] while an other similar icon with 6 hands is found in Bengal[4]. A very interesting and unique composite icon of three headed and ten armed Sun has come to light from Bengal which appears to be influenced by Śakti cult[5] or the part which Sun god played in the evolution of many of the god-concepts such as Sūrya Nārayaṇa and Mārtand-Bhairava[6]a.

During 8th century A. D. the artistic activity was on the high pitch. Besides the new feature (the feet left uncarved) we find *Gaja Sunda* motif introduced in the Bengal sculpture[7]. From an image found in Dinājapur district we learn the god is seated in Vajra-Paryank-Āsana on a lotus along with all his attendants in the same fashion and above we notice eight figures of Sundas. This Gaja Sunda (the trunk of elephant) motif is attached to the Sun icon suggesting the association of asterism (*Hasta Nakshatra*) with Sun (who is the guardian deity of Nakshatra). This asterism when in conjunction with Sūrya is said to have caused plentiful rain. Therefore the *Gaja Sunda* motif in Bengal images is very significant as this province is the home of paddy. Such

1. Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. LVIII.
2. Elliot-History Vol. I. p. 82
3. J. R. A. S. 1908 Pl. IV 7
4. J. A. S. B. Vol. 28 Pl. 8 fig. 3
5. V. R. S. A. R. 1929–30 fig. 2
6. I. A. 1918 p. 136
7. J. A. S. B. Vol. 26 p. 147 Pl. 2

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image is not wanting in W. part of North India as one icon with Gaja Suṇḍa motif has been found in Sarnath[1]. Similar image has been discovered in the Punjab[2], Mand[3] and Mūrwār[4] (Rājaputānā). The second kind of seated Sūrya images have been unearthed from East Bengal where Sun in Indian dress and fashion (*Dhoti* and *Uttariya* with all ornaments) is represented as seated in the seven horse chariot[5].

An absolutely different method of representating the Sun icon is found in shape of nine planets (नवग्रह) worshipped in the time of danger and carved in a row on the lintel of the main sanchum of a Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva temple. On the stone slab of Parasrāmeśwar temple of Bhavneśwar these nine planets[6] have been carved and it is also seen on a lotus petal (lintel piece) found at Konāraka[7] (Orissa). Therefore on the basis of archaeological remains[8] it may be stated that Sun worship was most popular during this period throughout Northern India from Kashmīr and Rājputānā to the states of Orissa and East Bengal.

Mythology Attached to Sun.

The topic of Sun worship in the early mediaeval period can not be complete without the description of the Purānic

1. Cat. of Archacology at Sarnath p. 322
2. Bhattacharya – Hindu images Pt. I. Pl. X
3. A. S. I. A. R. 1909–10 Pl. XLIII (6)
4. Rao –Elements of Hindu Iconog. p. 314 Pl. LXXXIX
5. V. R. S. A. R. 1920–29 p. 3 fig. 3 Bhattasali – Cat. of Dacca Museum p. 172. Pl. XIX
6. A. S. I. A. R. 1923–24 p. 120—रवि, सोम, मंगल, बुध, वृहस्पति शुक्र, शनि, राहु और केतु ।
7. Ibid 1903–4 p. 47
8. But the wide prevalence of Navagrha figures in jain images of the Tirathamkaras viz. S'āntināth and Neminātḥ, round or on the side of the main image indicate that they were becoming fashionable as temple decorations. When these figures are in bold reliefs, the set was regarded as cult–objects worshipped to avert evils.

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mythology attached to Sun god. The subject of eclipse of Sun has been described in the Gāhadavāla record as Sūrya has been eclipsed by Rāhu (राहू ग्रस्ते दिवाकर)[1]. The same fact is mentioned in other dynastic records as Sun eclipse[2]. The time of eclipse has been regarded very sacred and people were advised to give *Dāna* on this auspicious occasion. It is wonder that we find no such example in the early mediaeval iconography. Similar accounts of gifts are contained in the Smṛti literature and the eclipse is held as proper and suitable occasion for donation. Sātātapa says चन्द्रसूर्यापरागे च दत्तं भवति चाक्षयम्[3]. This Smṛti writer has gone a step further to add that Ayana (equinoxes) and Ṣadaśiti[4] were also religious occasions for grant i. e. crossing of Tropic of cancer and Capricorn (Ayanas of North and South) and Sun's entrance in the zodical signs were held suitable time for charitable endowments. The examination of religious grants does not indicate that the author has any knowledge of scientific relation of Sun with earth. The shadow of earth on Sun has been described in the record as राहूग्रस्त दिवाकर though Āryabhatta in 5th century A. D. had established the relation of planets and the cause of eclipses. It was nothing but the shadow of earth falling on Sun and Moon (छादयति सूर्यं शशिनं महती च भूच्छाया). This scientific view had no value and weight on the brain of the religious people whose minds were absorbed in myths and superstitions. A stray reference of eclipse is found in a Chedi document where the line is recorded in a true sense[5].

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1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 158 ; Vol. XXI p. 219 ; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 14
2. Kalachuri record E. I. Vol. IX p. 169; Paramar = a inscription, Nagpur Chandravati plate record—E. I. Vol. XIV p. 192; Naihati grant—E. I. Vol. XIV p. 161—सूर्योपराग or सूर्यग्रहणं
3. Laghu Sātātapa Smṛti 151
4. अयनेषु च य दत्तं षडशीति मुखे तथा
   चन्द्रसूर्योपरागे च दत्तं भवति चाक्षयम् । Ibid
5. E. I. Vol. 22 p. 166
   श्री मद्रत्न नरेश्वरस्य सदसि ज्योतिर्व्विदामग्रतः
   सर्वग्रास्त्र मनुष्णगोःप्रवदता तीर्णा प्रतिज्ञा नदी ।

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The Jyotiṣi Padmanābha knew the principles of astronomy. The presence of Jyotishi in the assembly of Ratnadeva was to be asserted that the idea was there as to the total eclipse. This in no way helps us to arrive at the definite conclusion that the author knew the scientific principles of eclipse.

III The Other Minor Sects.

(A) Ganeśa.

Gaṇesha was the last deity of Panchāyatām form of worship. He is not the Vedic god like Rudrā, Viṣṇu and Sūrya but a Paurānic deity popolarly worshipped in our period from 700-1200 A. D. The inscriptions of this period point out that Gaṇesha was invoked along with other four deities namely Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and Śakti-Durgā. In Chedi record[1] and Pratīhāra epigraph[2] god Gaṇesha has been invoked and we find the name of Gaṇesha included in the list of five gods (Pancha Deva) viz. Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Śakti and Gaṇesha. In former record it is stated that king Ratnadeva III built extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇesha. In the most of the Śaiva records the prelude contains the prayer of Śiva and Gaṇeshā and some time Pārvatī is also invoked simultaneously. The Malhar stone inscription of Jaggaladeva[3] describes the foundation of Śiva temple but in the beginning we find the prayer of both Śiva and Gaṇesha. In another record the opening verses are devoted for the Prayer of Śiva, Pārvatī as well as Gaṇesha[4]. Similarly Gaṇesha is also invoked in a Vaisṇavite inscription. It has the syllable (Mantra) *Om Ganapateye Namah* and a prose invocation to Gaṇapati while the record contains the history of Viṣṇu temple[5]. A few epigraphs do contain the

1. E. I. Vol. XXI I. p. 160
2. Ibid XIV p. 178
3. E. I. Vol. I. p. 40
   ब्रह्माण्डमण्डल महीत्पलनाल लीलां, बिभ्रत् सवोगणपतेरवतादजस्रम्
4. Ibid p. 234 (V. 4) A. S. I. A. R. 1902-3 p. 265
5. E. I. Vol. I. p. 288-9

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prayer of Gaṇesha[1] but the deity is mentioned by some other names. Chandela record mentions him Vināyaka[2] beside the common name Gaṇesha or Gaṇpati[3].

Besides epigraphic references the images of Gaṇesha discovered in North India indicate the wide worship[4] of Gaṇesha. Though Vināyaka is mentioned in *Mahābhārata* as malevolent demon[5] (the wild and terrible follower of Rudra) his icon has not been discovered prior to 6th century A. D. In Bhumarā (central India) some Gaṇesha images have been found (now deposited in Allahabad Municipal Museum) but that also of very low taste. The Gaṇesha icon is rather common and carved from 8th century A, D. onwards with artistic features. A four armed Gaṇesha image has been found in Pāhādpur[6] while other icons of Bengal have the characteristics of Pāla school (black stone, lotus seat and one leg pendent) i. e. carved in early mediaeval style[7]. In Khajurāho group (10th century A. D.) Gaṇesha icon has been carved in dancing pose. The popular worship of Gaṇesha in every house-hold points out that wild traits of elephant headed Gaṇesha were transformed into ideal of wisdom and beneficence. His figure and name are to be found in every modern Hindu shop as he is supposed to give success in all undertakings. It is wonder how the religious mind can change a malevolent spirit in a genial protector of house-hold.

Among a few Hindu deities who were adopted in the other religions, Gaṇesha is the foremost one. In one official

1. E. I. Vol. I. p. 234 ; E. I. Vol. III p. 264
2. A. S. I. A. R. 1935–36 P. 91 ; E. I. Vol. IX p. 279
3. E. I. Vol. I. pp. 173 and 288
4. The installation is described in an inscription and king ordered that one Vimopaka should be paid to the deity from tax realised from the market (E. I. Vol. III p. 264)
5. Hopkins – Epic Mythology p. 207
6. A. S. Memoir no. 55 Pl. XXXII (d)
7. E. Ind. school of Med. Sculpture Pl. LX
   Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. LV (a)

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document[1] Vināyaka is mentioned as worshipped by Jains. and their Gaṇesha is 18 armed deity[2]. Gaṇesha or Gaṇapati is described in Buddhist text Sadhanamālā as 12 armed deity having one face and favourite Vāhana, the mouse[3]. Thus it appears that Gaṇesha was worshipped by Brāhmaṇās, Jains and Buddhist alike.

Evidence of Icons.

The analysis of the images found in Bihar and Bengal shows that the number of Brahmanical deities are not less than the deities of Vajrayāna pantheon. This is an indication that artists of Pāla age were carving icons relating to the Buddhist and Brahmanical sects alike. The Hindu images found so far are all classified into Panchāyatan (Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Durgā-Śakti and Gaṇesha) along with some incarnations of Viṣṇu. The iconic features are exactly identical to the description of Purāṇās and the age of icons ranges from 8th to 12th century A. D. The images of Viṣṇu[4], Durgā[5] and Sūrya[6] from Bihar; Rājashāhi, Murshidābād and Rangapur (of Bengal province) have been discovered[7]. Trivikrama[8] and Varāha incarnations[9] of Viṣṇu have come to light from the same regions. The figures of Śiva are of four types[10] and Sadāśiva, Kalyānasundarmurti, Śiva-Pārvatī and Ardhanārīśwar should be mentioned in this connection. Many of Gaṇesha images have been found in Bengal (Khulanā, Dinajpur and Dacca). Śākta principles have so

1. E. I. Vol. IX p. 279
2. J. of Ind. Hist. Vol. 18 p. 158
3. Indian Buddhist iconography p; 42
4. Pāla and Sena Sculpture nos. 3,24,27
5. Ibid nons. 1
6. Ibid nos. 4,5,7,36
7. E. Ind. School of Med. Sculpture Pl. XLII, to XLVI.
8. Pāla and Sena sculputres no. 39 and 50 (North Bengal 10th Cent. A. D.)
9. Ibid No. 26 (Bihar, 10th Cent. A. D.)
10. E. I. school of Med. Sculpture Pl. LIV – LVI

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much overpowered the people of Bengal that they took to Durgā worship. The other forms of Śakti are Manasā and Ṣaṣṭi who gained ground in Bihar and Bengal. We know that Durgā and Kālī are the same forms of Śakti and regarded as consorts of Śiva. That worship continued and hence to this day Kāli is primary deity of Bengal province.

(B) Kārttikeya.

The divine couple Śiva and Pārvatī had two sons—Gaṇesha and Kārttikeya. Kārttikeya is taken as the member of Śiva family and people prayed this god along with Śiva or Śaivas paid homage to this deity. We know that earliest anthopomorphic form of Śiva was found on the coins of Wima (who called himself Māheśwar) and many other Hindu deities were represented on the coins of his successors. Huviska is said to have issued many coins with different deities and Kārttikeya also figured among them. Many names of gods—Skando (Skanda), Maseno (Mahāsena), Komaro (Kumāra) and Bizago (Viśākha) have found place in his coin legends. Viśākha is our desired deity - Kārttikeya whose Sikhidhwaja has also been found[1]. His figure was carved on the prabhāwali (halo) of the Pārvatī image along with Gaṇesha and Śiva with proper emblems and respective Vāhanas[2]. From East Bengal (now East Pakistan) image of Kārttikeya has been found where the god is sitting in a Mahārāja lillā posture riding on a peacock[3]. In a Gwalior record a temple of Kārttikeya (Viśākha) has been mentioned to which land was granted[4]. Thus it appears that Kārttikeya did figure among minor deities of Hinduism and the god was respected by the people. On the above numismatic and epigraphic data we can say that from 2nd century A. D. to the 10th century A. D. people paid homage to this war god.

1. Smith Catalogue Pl. XII no. 8
2. A. S. I. A. R. 1935-36 p. 120 Pl. 35
3. Iconography in Dacca Museum Pl. LVII (a)
4. A. R. of Gwalior state Arch Deptt. 1927-28 p. 15

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(C) Rāma and Hanumāna.

Rāma cult has not found a satisfactory place in the epigraphs of early mediaeval period. Cunningham observed that the separate worship of Rāma probably did not become popular until muhammedan conquest[1] of Delhi, but on the authorty of Bṛhatasaṁhita of Varāhamihra[2], it may be stated that worship of Dāsarathī Rāma as an avatāra of Viṣṇu was known in Gupta period. Till the end of the twelve century A. D. we find some references in the official records as well as canons of iconometry[3] regarding the icon of Rāma. In Pāla record Dharmapāla and Vākapāla were described as leading an ideal life like Rāma and Lakshmaṇa,[4] like many Puraṇas (Padma, Garuḍa, Varāha) some of the mediaeval records speaks of Rāma as avatāra of Viṣṇu. Gwaliar inscription of Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Bhoja (9th cent. A. D.) describes Rāma as an incarnation[5] and this tradition continued till the close of 12th cent. A. D. *Daśāvatara cārita* of Kshemendra[6], Gitagovinda of Jayadeva[7] and Ramacaritam[8] recounts the glory of Rāma. The qualities of Rāma dominated the minds of the people in general that the Praśastikaras wrote and compared their heroes with Rāma. In the Hansi inscrip-

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1. A. S. I. Report Vol. II p. 270.
2. Bṛihatsamhita chap. 57.
   (दशरथतनयो रामा बलिश्च वैरोचनिह शतं विशंभ्)
3. Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 259).
4. E : I Vol. XV p. 293.
   रामस्येव गृहीत सत्य तपसस्तस्यानुरुपो गुणौ
   सौमित्रे रुदपादि तुल्य महिमा वाकपालनामानुजः ।
   I. A. Vol. XV Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyṛṇapāla.
5. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 107 V. 3.
   तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा क्रमनिहितपदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु धोरं
   रामः पौलस्त्यहिन्तरं क्षतविहितं समित कर्म चक्रे पलाशैः ।
6. Compiled in 1066 A. D.
7. Poet of Lakshmaṇa Sena (12th cent. A. D.)
8. Life history of Ramapāla of Bengal and exploits of Dāśarathi Rāma.

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tion[1] Pṛthavirāja II has been compared with Rāma and same is the case of Piplianagar grant of Paramāra family[2].

The literary and epigraphic evidences together go to show that till 12th century A. D. Rāma did not remain simply and *avatara* of Viṣṇu but Rāma cult existed in the early mediaeval period. Certain records refer to the establishment of temples of Rāma and also mention the endowments of land to the temple. An Orissa inscription speaks of Narahari Tirtha presenting the image of Rāma[3] to his Guru Mādhava (Saka 1215). The Rajim stone inscription (dated 1145 A. D.) refers to the grant of village to a temple of Rāma by Jagasimha, a feudatory of Kalachuri king Jajalladeva[4]. Thus it can be summarised that Rāma cult was known in Northern India during the period under review. The worship of Hanumāna is a sequel of the Rāma worship. His worship also gained popularity during this period.

This deity is connected with the story of Rāma but epigraphs of our period are silent on this topic. We do not know anything from the official records but numismatic evidences go to show that Hanumāna was respected by the kings of Mahobā and Mahākosala. The figure of Hanumāna is found on the reverse side of Kalachuri coins belonging to Pṛithvideva I and Jājalladeva I. Though these kings of Mahākosala issued coins in all the three metals but Hanumāna is figured on the copper coins only on the obverse side. We have the legend and on the reverse the figure of two armed Hanumāna trampling a demon has been carved[5]. According to L. P. Sharma the Hanumāna type of coin was started by Mahākosala king Pṛthvideva I and followed by his son and

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1. *D. H. N. I.* Vol. II p. 1079
2. *Ibid.* p. 895.
3. D. H. N. I. Vol. I. 486.
4. I. A. Vol. XVII p. 140 line 10.
5. J. N. S. I. Vol. III p. 21 : Sri L. P. Sharma is of opinion that Hanumāna type coins are much earlier (I. H. Q. Vol. XVIII p. 375)

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successor Jalladeva[1]. The king Ratnadeva I also issued Hanumāna type of coin but the figure of Hanumāna is four armed[2]. The same deity was also honoured by the Chandela kings who issued silver coins with the effigy of Hanumāna. On the obverse side of the coins issued by Hallakshana, Jayavarmadeva and Madanavarmadeva we observe two armed figure of Hanumāna under a canopy[3]. Besides the figure on coins, the colossal statue of Hanumāna[4] was found in Central India with the pedstal inscription (हनुमान पवनात्मज). The probable date is 10th century A. D. when Chandela power was at its zenith. In this context it may be suggested that Central India and Madhya Pradesh have been associated with the activity of divine god Rāmachandra and this was the reason that Hanumāna was respected in those regions. Among Khajurāho shrines, the Rāmachandra temple was built by Yasovarmana[5] near about 1011 A. D. Therefore it becomes clear why people and the king showed their respect to Hanumāna and worshipped the deity.

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1. I. H. Q. Vol. XIX p. 281
2. J. A. H. S. Vol. XII p. 169
3. C. M. I. Pl. VIII no. 16, 17, 18 and 21
4. C. A. S. R. Vol. XXI p. 64
5. Ibid p. 57

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CHAPTER X

Religious Life

A. Temples — their Construction.

The period under review was famous for its religious activities and the king and the subjects were inclined towards benefection. We have seen that in the Pauranic period the attention was focussed to the religious devotion for the deities who became the popular gods of the masses. The multiplication of religious ceremonies observed in different manners, *Dāna* and *Vratas* on specific occasions have been mentioned in the official documents of this (early mediaeval) age. Similarly the epigraphic records bear eloquent testimony to the popularity and worship of Pauraṇic deities and their installation in the temples. This kind of activities were due to the influence of Vaiṣṇava Tantra. The idea contained in the *Pānchratra Saṁhitā* was responsible for the construction of temple and image worship. The above book is consisted of four Pādas namely (1) Jñāna, (2) Yoga, (3) Kṛiya (construction and consecration of temple and icons) and (4) Caryā — performance of daily rites and observance of Varṇāśramadharma[1]. Thus it is clear that latter two ideas were to a great extent responsible for the development of religious life of the age. The people were mainly concerned with these two subjects in the society. The temples were the structure (Ālaya) round the cult of idol-worship and It is no more than an architectural replica of imagined world mountain Meru and is equivalent of the body of Puruṣa. Hence religious minded people erected the temples to which benefections and endowments could be made. The official records of various dynasties ruling in the northern India from 700–1200 A. D. contain such information and the existing architectural specimens reveal the working of the mind of the rulers.

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1. Introduction to Pānchratra by F. O. Schrader p. 22

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The epigraphic documents of Northern India show that the temples of the gods specially Brahmanical one were erected during our period. The Gāhaḍavāla record describes the construction, spires and designs of temple of Ādikeśava (situated on the confluence of the Gaṅga and the Baruṇā) in Varanasi[1]. The Gurajara Pratīhāra king Bhoja built the temple of Viṣṇu in his own inner apartment[2]. The earlier king Bauk of the same family had already built the temple of Siddheśvara Mahādeva[3]. In the same way a Paramāra record mentions the construction of the temple of Maṇḍalesvara (Śiva[4]) to which endowment was made for the worship of the diety[5]. The records of Chandēla dynesty are full of such information describing the erection of Viṣṇu or Śiva temples by kings[6] and the ministers[7]. In one of the Khajurāho records[8] the temple of Viṣṇu has been described in the beautiful words.

The royal documents[9] of Kalachuri family give detail of the erection of Śiva temple at different places during 11th

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1. Kamauli grants (E. I. Vol. IV and VIII.)
2. राजा तेन स्वदेविनां यशः पुण्याभि वृद्धये
   अन्तः पुर-पुर नाम्ना व्यधापि नरक द्वीषः (E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 110)
3. पुष्करणी कारिता येम त्रेता तीर्थे च पत्तनं
   सिद्धेश्वरो महादेव कारितस्तुंग मंदिरः
   (E. I Vol. XVIII p. 96 V. 20).
4. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 298.
5. *Ibid*. Vol. XXI p. 42.
6. प्रासादो वैष्णवस्तेन निर्मितोन्तर्व्वन्हहरिम्
   and नीलकण्ठाधिवासं (E. I. Vol. I. p. 128–211).
7. J. A. S. B. Pt. I (1895) p. 158.
8. ते नैतच्चारु चाभीकर कलस लसद्व्योम धाम व्यधायि
   भ्राजिष्णु प्रांशु वंश ध्वज पट (पटलां) दोलितां (भोज) वृदम्
   दैत्यारातेस्तुषार क्षितिधर शिखर स्वर्द्धिवर्द्धिष्णु रागा
   दृष्टे यात्रासु यत्रत्रिदिववसतयो विस्मयन्ते समेता (E.I. Vol. I P. 129 V. 42.)
9. Ratanpur stone inscription (E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 262–9).
   (A) सुधांशु धवलं तत्र धूर्ज्जटि धभि निर्मित्तम् (V. 33)
   निर्मित्तं मंदिरं रम्यं कुमराकोट पत्तने (V. 36)
   (B) Bheraghat record (E. I. Vol. II p. 8.)

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century A. D. Similar is the case of Chāhamāna documents[1] which describe the erection of temples and their endowments.

The epigraphic records of Pāla and Sena rulers of Bengal do not lack such information; The Pāla king Dharmapāla dedicated four villages to the temple[2] of Nunna Nārāyaṇa which was a Vaiṣṇava shrine built at the hand of Buddhist monarch. Such is the case of Nārāyaṇapāla who boasted to have built thousand, Śiva temples[3]. The Sena rulers (followers of Brahamanical culture) were also alive to the occasion and king Vijayasena was instrumental to erect a magnificient temple of lord Śiva[4]. Silimpur inscription[5] (Rājasahi district, North Bengal) of 11th century A.D. describes that one Prahāsa built a white temple of great height surmounted with picturesque crest and with all customary divisions in which he established the image of Amarnāth. He also attached an alms house (Sattra) to it[6]. The above analysis of the dynastic records points out that large number of temples were built by the kings in this period throughout the northern India[7].

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1. E. I. Vol. II p. 123 ; Vol. XI p. 48.
2. सुभस्थल्यांन्देवकुलांन् कारित तत्र प्रतिष्ठापित
   भगवान् नन्न नारायण भट्टारकाय (E. I. Vol. IV p. 250).
3. Bhagalpur grant (I. A. Vol. XV p. 306).
   महाराजाधिराज श्री नारायणपालदेवेन स्वयं कारित सहस्रायतनस्य
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 310 (V. 20)
   आलम्बस्तम्भमेकं त्रिभुवन भवनस्यैकशेषं गिरीणां
   स प्रद्मुनेश्वरस्य व्यधित वसुमती वासवः सौधभुच्चैः ।
5. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 290.
6. सततमुचित वृत्तिः कल्पयित्वान्न सत्रं
   रुचिर-शिखर सांगोतुंग शुभ्रालयेस्मिन्
   विधिवद् अमरनाथं स्थापयित्वा वरेण्यं
   शरणमगमदेकं वासुदेवं स देवाम् ।
   (E. I. Vol. XIII V. 25 p. 290).
7. Besides numerous inscriptions referring to temples constructed during the period under review, the accounts of the foreigners also testified to the same. Hiuen Tasang in the 7th century saw large number of monasteries and temples (Watters Vol.

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Generally the person desirous to build a temple had to spend money out of his own purse or the king spent the amount from the treasury. But contrary to this dictum the Chāhamāna king Harsha constructed the temple out of the fund collected from the people. The word *Dharmi-vitaih* has been used for that realised subscription[1]. The second interesting document is the Nadlai grant which tells that the cost of the construction of mandapa attached to the temple of Bhivadeśvara[2] was 330 Drammas[3] which (the amount) was spent for the bricks and stone used in the construction of the Maṇḍapa. The amount appears to be very megre for the construction of the whole temple. We know that the structure of mediaeval temple consisted of four sections[4] or Maṇḍapas. So the money (330 Drammas) must have been spent in the construction of one of the additional Maṇḍapas added later on to the central shrine. This becomes more clear when we study the style of temple of early mediaeval period. According to Brown when the temple rituals developed, the other structures were found

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II p. 184–85, 190 and 191) while muslim historians in later period saw thousands temples at Varanasi and Mathura (Elliot–Hist. Vol. II pp. 223 and 465) which were destroyed by the iconoclasts. Kalhaṇa also describes good many temples built by Kasmir kings especially Lalitāditya (Raj. Tarangas 5, and 8).

1. E. I Vol. II p. 123.
   तनेदं धर्मिवित्तैः सुघटित विकटं कारितं हर्ष हम्म्यम्
2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 48.
   श्री भिवदेश्वरदेवस्य.....मण्डय करापनीयः अक्षसामलापनीयः
   .....उमा कर्तव्या पाषाण इटकायां घटित चहूटांपने द्र ३३० लागे
3. Though this appears to be a small sum for the construction of a Mandapa the Drama cannot be taken as gold coin. Chāhamaṇa kings are known to have issued only silver coins. The Nāgarī word द्रम (drama) was the Varnacular form of Greek drachm which were mostly of silver metal. So the 330 Dramas were silver coins of the Chāhamānas.
4. Garbha Gṛiha, Jagamohana, Nata-maṇḍapa and Bhoga-mandir.

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necessary. Therefore the Maṇḍapas were added to the main Garbha-Gṛiha[1] and Maṇḍada referred to in the Nadlai grant may be classified as one of the additional portions of the temple.

Two Different Temple Styles.

Besides these epigraphic evidences, the existing temples of of this age will go a long way to show that the kings were interested in this type of work. The sacred monuments were constructed in large numbers whose ruins can be seen and the muslim historians saw them before the temples were demolished by the Islamic invaders The evolution of temples in ancient India shows that from about 8th century A. D. north Indian temple style became distinct from south Indian (Dravidi) style. The principal and distinct architectural feature of Indo-Āryan style (of northern India) was Sikhara and Garbha-Gṛiha which were fully illustrated in the temple structure before 10th century A. D. Among many centres of the period under review Bhuvaneśwara and Khajurāho are are two existing famous centres of that (early mediaeval) age.

These two prominent groups developed separately in two different regions namely Orissa and Central India (now called Madhya Pradesh). Bhuvaneśvara was the area of sustained architectural activity. The people were overpowered by their faith which found expression in the production of temples. This place had a peculiar architectural movement i. e. 'Deul' and 'Jagamohan' were two edifices which combined together constitute the essentials of Orissa temple style[2]. Probably hundred years later (1000 A. D.) Nata-Mandir and Bhoga-Mandir were added to deul (central shrine). The other remarkable characteristic of Orissa type

1. Brown—Indian Architecture p. 123.
2. Brown—Indian Architecture plates LXXII and LXIII
In orissan texts the temples were classified under the designation —Rekhā and Bhadra. Rekhā is conical, be=hived shaped spire and Bhadra is terraced pyramid.

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of temple is the plain and featureless treatment of interior contrasted with profusely ornamental outer walls of the shrine. These temples built on ground level and the shrine with surrounded area was enclosed by a high wall with gates. Orissa temples range from 750-1250 A. D. and in all 21 temples may be enumerated. Those worth mentioning are Paraśarāmeśwara (750-900 A. D.) Lingarāja, Vital and Puri temples which were completed between 900-1000 A. D. and most of them are standing at Bhuvaneśwara.

The most refined and finished manifestation of Indian architecture in Indo-Āryan style is to be found in group of Khajurāho temples. The enoromous effectiveness of the shrines at Khajurāho depends on their beauty of proportion and contour and the vibrant texture of their surface ornamentation. All 30 temples were erected within 100 years (950-1050 A. D.) and they give a brilliant episode in the history of Indian temple architecture. The Chandela rulers extended royal patronage to the temples of Khajurāho. It has individual architectural characters and different from any other part of the country. The temple stands on high masonary platform as one unified structure. These temples are not highly imposing edifice but they are famous for graceful contours and rich surface treatments. The prin ipal refinement is obtained by the design and the distribution of the miniature turrents or '*Urusrings*'[1]. The builders began by attaching a half-spire against the lower portion of each side of the central shrine structure until stopped by another miniature *urusring*. These even triplicated are seen rising in regular gradation to form systematic beautiful out line. The designers showed great aesthetic knowledge and the temple moved in upward direction culminating in a graceful *Sikhara*. Constrasting with the plain interior of Orissan temples Khajurāho temples are richly decorated with sculptures, The sculptures may be divided into three sections. The first is the decoration of temple wall with the figure of Pauranic deities. Secondly the interior of the Maṇḍapas i. e. ceiling

1. Indian Architecture plates LXXIX and LXXXI.

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and pillars are decorated. The third type of sculpture is the image carved on the upper portion of outer walls. The images of Dikapalas; Hindu gods and goddesses; Apasarā and other females and the amorous figures combined together form the subject matter of the temple decoration. Among Khajurāho group Kandariya Mahādeva has the elaborate decoration. This style of temple construction continued in later times[1] and even to-day the shrines of Uttar Pradesh, Madhyadesh and Rājaputānā tell the same story.

Amorous and Obscene Figures.

The special characteristics of early mediaeval shrines was the association of the icons and ordinary figure with the temple structure. In carved pattern of Bhuvaneśvara and Khajurāho temples we have many sculptures erotic in character expressing grossly obscene scenes. The amorous figures are very common on Kandariya Mahādeva, Jagadambā and other temples of Khajurāho group; and Rājārāni and Konarāka shrines of Orissa. It is a problem to the students of Indian Art why these obscene sculptures are not carved on the walls of Vihāras and monasteries but the plastic obscenities are confined entirely to the exterior of the temples[2]. The three possible causes may be suggested for these obscene figures.

(*a*) Influence of Tantra on the temple structure.
(*b*) The firm hold of *Mithuna* movement in the society.
(*c*) It reminds the worshippers that elemental observations of toe world which they represent may be done outside and the inside is pure and holy.

This kind of sculptures on the walls of the temples can be explained if one devotes some time to understand the hidden principles behind Tantrayāna. There seems to be no essential

1. Osia and Gwalior were famous centres of temples construction (11th century A. D.). In Kashmīr many temples were erected during this period (A. S. I. A. R. 1915–16 p. 62.64 and 71).
2. In Khajurāho a few temples have decorated interior walls i. e. outer side of main shrine.

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difference between Tantricism in the province of Hinduism and that of Buddhism. The ultimate reality is represented alike in both Hindu and Buddha Dharma. Śiva-Śakti is *Upāya* and *prajñā* of Tāntrāyāna which are objectified by male and female. The fundemental theological position of Buddhist and Hindu Tantra becomes the same. In Tāntric books the union of *Śakti-Purusa* or *Prajñā-Upāya* is called Yuganaddhā and is the central point of this sect. It is called *Mahāsukha*. One will enjoy great bliss (salvation), while worshipping the god in Yab Yum (embracing the female consort).[1] This union was also represented in Tāntric pantheon and Hindu artists could not remain aloof. In the gradual decay of Buddhism, *Prajña* and *Upāya* (consort and the god) could easily conceal behind the Hindu gods, *Śakti* and *Śiva*. This highest kind of idea has been represented by amorous figures. The high idea of the union of male and female for gaining salvation was not properly understood by the ordinary person and hence that practice was regarded as an act of maithuna which appears to have its firm hold on the considerable section of the society. The second cause of obscenities was due to above Mithuna movement which demoralised the idea of the artists. The third explanation of the obsene and amorous figures on the temples walls of Bhuvaneśvara and Khajurāho is worth consideration. The worldly passion are taken as the case of miseries and troubles. hence one has to cast them off while going to worship a deity; so that he would get the *Moksha*. Thus those elemental observations are confined to the outside walls of the temples only. The inner portion is calm and peaceful.

Paharapur and other Monastic Architecture.

We have seen that the above two styles of temples exhibit excellent architectural groups in India. In Bengal we find some remains of the temples belonging to 11th to 12th centuries A. D. Although no temple of great antiquity exists

1. An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism p. 130-1.

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in Bengal, but we get some idea about their features from a Buddhist mss., which refer to temples of Buddha at Puṇḍravardhan and Rāḍha[1].

The first type exhibits a roof consisting of a large number of horizontal tiers gradually diminishing in size as they go up. This type (Bhadra or tiered) go back to Gupta period and widely distributed over different part of the northern India. Side by side to this the *rekhā*[2] type exhibits what is known as the Nāgara style in India Silpa-śāstras. It consists of a *garbha-gṛha* on a high platform and a sikhara. The rekhā temples of Bengal had much in common with those of Orissa. The third type is the combination of *bhadra* and *rekhā* styles. Some such temples are still standing at places in Burdwan and Dinājapur districts. Most of the Bengal temples appear to be related to the earlier group of Bhuvaneśwar temples. R. D. Banerji includes several others within the mediaeval Eastern Indian school[3] though not earlier than 1209 A. D.

The excavation at Pāhādapur[4] has revealed a colossal structure entirely unknown till then to Indian archaeology. The ground plan consists of a gigantic square. The temple rose in a several terraces with a circumambulatory walk. It has been suggested by Dikshit that the main shrine of this colossal edifice was situated at the top and the earlier prototype of Pāhādapur temple have been discovered in north Bihar[5].

The description of the religious life of the age would not be completed until some thing is said about the monastic architecture in northern India. The monasteries in India were designed as a square block formed by four rows of cells along the four sides of an inner court yard. As the

1. Sastri—Des. cat. of Sans. Mss. in A. S. B. Vol. I p. 92.
2. History of Bengal Vol. I plate XXXIII No. 81.
3. E. I. school of Med. sculpture Pls. LXXX (c) LXXXIII (a, c).
4. A. S. I. 1922-23 pp. 116-23 : 1925-26 pp. 107-113.
5. A. S. I. 1935-36 pp. 55-56 Pl. XXI.

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monastic organisations developed, they became elaborate brick structure. An idea of the magnificance of some these establishments may be had from the account of Hiuen Tsang. The wealth of materials laid bare at Pāhādpur proved a great help in ascertaining the form of a monasetry in early mediaeval period. Among several monasteries of Bengal Dharmapāla built a great Buddhist Vihāra at Somāpura[1] (a mile from the ruins) which is proved by the sealing of monks residing at the place. The name and fame of this Vihāra spread far and wide and it is mentioned in the inscriptions of Bodha Gaya[2] and Nālandā[3]. In the word of Dikhshit, "No single monastery of such diamension has come to light in India and the appellation Mahāvihāra can be considered entirely appropriate[4]" Concluding the discussion a few words about the most famous Nālandā Mahāvihāra would not be out of place. That was the biggest monastery known in India so far (though in ruins). It (Somapura) has been described in the Nālandā record of Vipulaśrimitra as the ornament of world and a singular feast to the eyes of the world[5] a praise appears to be justified even from what is preserved to-day.

Repair of the Temples.

Besides the new construction of temple, the restoration or repair of the shrine was equally pious and the references to this kind of work are found in the inscription of this age. The words *Khanda, Sphuta* and *Saṁskāra*[6] of the records

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1. A. S. I. 1927–28 p. 105.
   श्रीसोमपुरे श्रीधर्मपालदेव महाविहारीय आर्यभिक्षुसंघस्य
2. A. S. I. 1908–9 p. 158.
3. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 101.
4. A. S. I. 1927–28 p. 106.
5. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 97.
   कृत्वा तेन विहारिका कृतवतालंकार भूताभुवो
6. Even the earlier records of Gupta dynasty mention the grant for repair works (खण्ड स्फुट प्रति संस्कार करणय)—Gunaighar C. P. of Vainyagupta dated 507 A. D. (I. H. Q. Vol. VI

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connote the same meaning. The grant were given by the rulers for this type of work (maintenance of the building). From Rājaputānā many official documents of other royal families refer to grants for temple repair[1]. A Paramāra grant mentions the restoration of sun temple by a widow queen[2]. Other records[3] of 10th century A. D. mention the grants for several purposes, among which repair was also the important work. Similar instance has been recorded in the inscriptions of a king who assigned the work of repair of the temple to the council of temple administration[4]. Even Hindu ruler donated for the repair[5] of Buddhist monastery in Uttar Pradesh. In Bhagalpur grant of Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla, the similar fact has been recorded[6]. Such restoration might have been very common in 11th and 12th centuries when muslim invaders satisfied their iconoclastic zeal in their campaign throughout northern India[7].

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p. 53) Damodarpur C. P. inscription dated 224 G. E. (E. I. Vol XV p. 142) records same thing — श्वेव वराह स्वामिनो देवकृते खण्ड स्फुट प्रति संस्कार करणाय. This indicates that from 6th century onwards donation were given for the repair of monastery and the temple as well.

1. C. I. I, Vol. IV p. 150 (खण्ड स्फुटित संस्कारार्थं)
2. Vasantgarh record dated 1040 A. D. (E. I. Vol. IX p. 13).
3. E. I. Vol. III p. 264 : Vol. IX p. 192.
   एषां भागास्त्रयः सत्रे खण्ड स्फुटित संस्कृतौ
   I. A. Vol. XIV p. 160
   खण्ड स्फुट देवगृह जगती सम रचनार्थं
   E. I. Vol. XIII p. 115
   खण्ड स्फुटिता व च हिव पतित संस्कारार्थम्
4. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 62
   ऐतेषां स्थावराणां भाट्टकं यत्मुत्पद्यते तत्सर्वं गोष्टिभि;
   कुंकुम धूप पुष्प दीपक ध्वजाधवलापन खण्ड स्फुटित
   समरचनादिषु धर्मोयोग्यं कर्तव्यम्
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 286.
6. I. A. Vol. XV p. 306.
7. Record from Jodhpur mentions the reinstallation of a new image in 1178 A. D. by the wife of Chāhamāna feudatory,

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Installation of worship of Deity.

When temples were properly constructed the different deities were installed as they were the nuclei of worship. Besides installation the method of religious worship has also been mentioned in the epigraphic records of this period (700-1200 A. D.). The proper method of the installation of the deity has not been mentioned in our records but the prayer Mantra and the prelude of the *Praśastis* emphatically prove that a certain image of deity was installed by the donor. In the previous pages it has been emphaslzed that the Vaiṣṇava Tantra (*Pancharātra*) had influenced the mind of people to a great extent and the *Charyā* was the last subject discussed in the Āgama covering the entire topic of worship and connected religious rites. Hence according to Āgama the deities of the different faiths were installed in the temples. If we examine the numerous images prepared in this period we find that from 800-1000 A. D. almost all Buddhistic images[2] have dated pedestal inscriptions mentioning the name, the deity or the Buddhist creed[3]. The period from 1000-1200 A. D. was rich in Brahmanical icons due to the progress and followings of Hindu Dharma in the society. From the above inscriptions, the names of the deity and time of

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because the image was broken by the Turuṣka. (E. I. Vol. XX App. p. 56).

Similarly in Assam, the king named Viswa Sundaradeva (1227 A. D.) ordered an officer to repair the damage done by the mlechchhas to the Śiva temple (I. H. Q. Vol. XXII pp. 12–14)

1. ॐ नमो नारायणाय; ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

   Mentioned in the Vaiṣṇava records (E. I. Vol. I p. 125 and 140; Vol. XIX p. 210 : Vol. XVIIII p. 107; J. A. S. B. Vol. VI p. 881) and ओं नमो शिवाय in the Śaiva inscriptions (E. I. Vol. XXI p. 148; Vol. XI p. 181; Vol. XXVI pp. 183. 158).

2. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture—plates II–VIII.

3. ये धर्म्मा हेतु प्रभवा हेतु तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत्
   तेषां च यो निरोधो, एवम् वादी महाश्रमणः ।

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installation become clear. Many Buddhistic images were installed by Pāla kings and the names of Surapāla[1], Madanpāla[2], Nārāyaṇapāla[3] and Ramapāla[4] may be cited in this connection. At Pāhādapur (8th century A. D.) the icons of Tārā and Manjuśri have been unearthed[5]. In the successive period Sena rulers played a great role in this sphere and images of Pauranic deities were installed for worship[6].

In Uttar Pradesh Kumardevi — queen of Kanauj king Govindachandradeva installed the image of Vasudhārā at Sarnath[7]. The king Chandradeva is said to have installed the image of Ādikeśava[8]. A Chāhamāna record of 12th century A. D. describe the image of Tīrthankara in the words noted below[9].

Thus these above descriptions give the picture of the state of affairs in the period and throughout northern India images were installed for the worship.

The epigraph of the period under review speak of donations to the meet the expenses of worship[10] and the different objects required therein have been enumerated. In Dharmaśāstra the procedure of *Devapujā* is known as *Upachāra* and they are 16 in number[11]. But in the dyanstic epigraphs of our

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1. I. H. Q. 1927 p. 586.
2. A. S. R. FII p. 125; I. A. Vol. XIV p. 139.
3. A. S. R. 1920–21 p. 35.
4. J. A. S. B. 1908 Vol. p. 108–9.
5. A. S. Memoir No. 55 pl. XLIV.
6. E. Ind. school of Med. sculpture plates XLV–LX.
   Pāla and Sena sculpture fig. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7. 24, 26, 27, 36, 39 and 50.
7. E. I. Vol. IX p. 321.
8. हैमानि येन मणिभि : खचितान्य नर्घ्यदंत्तानि विष्णुहरये च विभूषणानि
   काश्यां व्यभूषपदनेक सुवर्ण रत्नैर्यश्चादिकेशव विभोप्रतिमा निवेश्य ।
   (E. I. Vol. XXV p. 270; Vol. XIV p. 192)
9. E. I. Vol. XI p. 32.
   पितामहेन तस्येदं शमीपाश्र्वां जिनालये, कारितं शांतिनाथस्य विम्बं जनमनोहरम्
10. श्रीचन्द्रमाधवाय पूजार्थं शासनी कृत्य प्रदत्तः (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 199).
11. वृद्धहारीत 6, 31–32 (Contimued)

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period these details of *Upachāra* are not mentioned except अनुलेपन, पुष्प, धुप, दीप and नैवेद्य. The number of *Upachāras* were still decreased because the early mediaeval images were fixed to a pedestal and hence *Āvāhana* and *Visarjana* were out of question. In the several official records the word Snāna (bath) and *Vilepana* have been used along with *Puspa* (flower) *Dhupa* (incense), *Dipa* (lamp) and *Naivedya* (food) indicating the process of worship. The bath of the deity was the first item of worship and it was finished before offering any other object[1]. The image was bathed three times daily[2] with the water of the Ganga[3] or in ghee, curd and milk[4]. From Siyadoni inscription[5] it is learnt that before offering flower, incense, lamp and food, some objects like Sandal (चन्दन) camphor (कर्पूर) and vermilion (कुंकुम) were applied to the body of the deity. In the Chāhamāna[6] record

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आवाहनासने पाद्यमर्घमाचमनीयकम् ।
स्नाने वस्त्रोपवीते च भूषणं गन्धमेव च ॥
पुष्पं धूपं तथा दीपं नैवेद्यं च प्रदक्षिणम् ।
नमस्कारं च ताम्बूलं पुष्पमालां निवेदयेत् ॥ वृ० हा० स्मृति ६, ३१-३२ .
C. I. I. Vol. IV p. 150 गन्ध पुष्प धूप दीपसन्मार्जनोपलेप

1. E. I. Vol. III p. 264 (Madandeva record dated 959 A. D.) *Ibid*. Vol. XXI p. 117 I. A. Vol. XIV p. 160-2.
2. E. I. Vol. III p. 266 (प्रत्यहं त्रिः स्नपन); Vol. XXV p. 6 (त्रिकाल स्नान) Harshacharita—uchchhvas 2.
3. Elliot and Dowson p. 474.
4. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 116 (Taleswara copper plate) वलिचरूसत्र प्रवर्तन दधि-क्षीर-घृत स्नपन गंध धूप प्रदीप पुष्पार्च्चन
   In Purāṇas some detailed mode of worship has been described. In *Vayupurāṇa* (110, 13) Viṣṇu is said to have bathed in *Panchāmṛita*. पञ्चामृतेन च स्नानमर्चायां तु विशिष्यते ।
   In Dharmaśāstra milk, curd, honey, ghee and sugar are collectively known as पंचामृत.
5. E. I. Vol. I. p. 173
   देवस्यवलेपन सन्मार्जनाङ्गराग धूप दीप नैवेद्यर्थं; E. I. Vol. XIX p. 58
6. E. I. Vol. XI p. 57—अंगभोगे अगरूकर्पूर कुंकुम
   अंगराग and अंगभोग appear to be different versions whose meaning is one and the same .

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these objects were collectively known as *Angarāga* and *Anulepana* in the Sutra literature[1]. Having applied these objects the dress was put on along with the ornaments[2]. In general procedure the flower garland was fixed to the body of the deity, and the flowers were obtained from the guild of garland makers[3] (मालिकानां) for the worship. A few Pala of oil or butter were also collected by the temple authority for the lamp from the guild of oil-men or oil-mill (*Ghanaka*)[4] situated nearby. In one of the records from Rājaputānā it is stated that two Palikas (a measurement) of oil were collected from every Ghataka[5] (Kupaka of clarified butter and oil) and made over to the deity. It was a kind of permanent tax realised for the purpose of lamp to the deity[6].

The last major item was the offering of food (Naivedya) to the deity. From the study of the Chāhamāna record it appears that *Nāivedya* for the deity was prepared by cooking wheat flour with ghee[7] or Munga and rice cooked with ghee

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1. Viṣṇu Dh. Sutra (66–2)—अनुलेपन
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 311 (V. 31) :
   श्रीखण्ड क्षोदभस्मा करमिलित महानील रत्नाक्षमाल :
   वेपस्तेनास्य तेने गरुड़ मणिलता गोन स : कान्तमुक्ता ।
   Ibid. Vol. XXI p. 99 (ornaments offered to Buddha).
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 160 ; I. A. Vol. 8 p. 161.
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 177; I. A, Vol. 8 p. 161.
   श्रीचक्र स्वामिदेवस्य दीप तैलार्थे·····घाणक धाणक प्रति तैलपलिका प्रदत्ता:
5. Here Ghataka itself means Jar and Kupaka was a leather oil vessel.
6. E. I. Vol. III p. 264; Vol. I pp. 166 and 173; Vol. XIV p. 298. In Dharmaśāstra ghee and sesame oil have been allowed for the lamp of deity—न घृत तैलंविना
   V. Dhs. (66, 12–14).
7. गोधूम शेर पक्के घृत क ८ नैवेद्य मुंग मा १ चाषा पा २
   (E. I. Vol. XI p. 57).
   Dr. Bhandarkar has explained शे and क as measure of capacity —Ser and Kalas respectively. मा = Mani and पा = Payali are also measuring devices.

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was also offered to the deity. The study of the passage in the Chāhamāna record reveals that all arrangement were to be made out of the interest of the deposite (40 Dramas[1]) with the temple. The offering of Naivedya at the time of *Puja* was done on the annual Yātrā function out of that income. That day appears to be Śiva-rāti day (fourteenth black night of Āświna) and some ceremony was held every year and probably the deity was taken out in procession (Yātrā[2]). The food was prepared out of two seer of wheat cooked in 8 Kalas of ghee and it also consisted of one mani of Munga (pulse), two payali (measurement) of rice (chāsā) and certain Kalas of ghee. Out of that income four Dramas[3] were spent on *Angarāga*, flower and other objects (betel). To conclude it may be stated that Naivedya (cooked food) was offered to the deity as that formed a part of worship. After food and *āchamana*, the betel was also offered to the deity, because people are accustomed to Tāmbula, so naturally they offered the same to the deity. Barāhamihara has mentioned the use of betel in the society

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1. जगतस्वामी देवीय भाण्डागारे क्षेपित द्र ४०.....यात्रायां आश्विन वदी १४ दिने दिवस वलि मालयो देवेन स्वकीय भाण्डागारात् कारणीया। वलिनिवंधे गोधूम शे २ पक्केघृत क ८ नैवेद्य मुंग मा १ चाषा पा २ घृतक.....अंगभोगे अगरु कर्पूर कुंकुम प्रत्य द २ तथा पुष्प प्रत्थ द्र १ तथा पत्र पुगं प्रत्य द्र १.....एतत सर्वं प्रति वर्ष देवेन कारापमीयं (E. I. Vol. XI p. 57).

2. एतत सर्वं प्रतिवर्षं करापनीयं (E. I. Vol. XI p. 52).
Some of the early mediaeval inscriptions mention the gift of villages or cash to meet the cost of Rathayātrā of the deity (E. I. Vol. II p. 124; Vol. XI pp. 28, 39, 41 and 51).

3. The Dramma appears to be of silver metal which was generally used by the rulers for their coinage. If the Drama was taken to be gold coin, the interest would be sufficient for daily food. In the case of silver, the interest was meagre and hence the income of the deposit was spent in the annual function.

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with all its ingredients[1]. Similarly in one of the records of this period the reference to Tāmbulika guild[2] conveys the idea that Tāmbula (पत्रपुंग) was commonly used by the people and consequently they offered it to the deity.

In some of the grants of north Indian dynasties the word *Naivedya* has been used along with *Bali*, *Charu*, *Sattra*[3]. The words Bali-charu have been translated by scholars as offering and oblation. From the context it is difficult to say whether Bāli formrd the part of worship of the deity. In the earlier records पुष्प, धूप, दीप, and नैवेद्य clearly convey the idea of different objects required for the worship[4]. But in the Kalachuri and Pāla grants[5] the above words (except नैवेद्य) are absent. Thus the difficulty lies in putting वलि (Bali) and चारू (charu) at par with पुष्प धूप दीप. In this circumstance it may be suggested that Bali formed the part of *Vaiśvadeva*. This becomes more clear from Taleśvar grant where Bali and Charu are separately mentioned from गंध, धूप, पुष्प and दीप[6]. In this connection Manu has also stated that after Vaiśvadeva Bali should be offered in all direction to gods namely Indra; Yama and Varuna etc.[7]. The other word Charu stands for other items in the worship. Sattra was the alms house attached to the temple. Thus we find that *Upachāra* mentioned in the official records were to a great extent similar to the *Upachāra* stated by the Dharmaśāstra writers.

The mode of Hindu worship became so common that even Jains and Buddhists followed it. In a Chāhamāna record

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1. Brihatasamhitā 77. 35–37.
2. Siyadoni inscription (E. I. Vol. II).
3. Sirpur grant of Kalachuri family (E. I. Vol. XI p. 193).
   यस्तल एव ग्रामो वर्गुलसंज्ञित स देवस्य वलिचरु
   नैवेद्य सत्रोपकरण हेतोः पृथग्दत्तः
   Pāla record mentions पूजा वलि चरु सत्र (I. A. Vol. XV p. 306).
   भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य पूजा वलि चरू सत्र नवकर्माद्यर्थं
4. E. I. Vol. I p. 173; Vol. XI p. 57.
5. E. I. Vol. XI p. 193; I. A. Vol. XV p. 306.
6. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 116.
7. Manusmṛti 3, 87.

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(12th century A. D.) the worship of Jain Tīrthankar—Neminātha has been described in the Hindu traditional fashion[1]. In a Vajrayāna text—*Sādhanamālā* incense, lamp, flower, conch, perfume and garland etc. have been mentioned as the articles of worship[2]. It appears that worship of the deity drew the attention of all section of the people during our period[3] belonging to different faiths.

Governing Council and Temple Administration.

The early mediaeval inscriptions throw much light on the administration of temple and the management of its affairs. The entire management was placed in the hands of a governing body called Goṣṭhi[4] whose members are called Goṣṭhika[5]. This body[6] consisting of Goṣṭhika was responsible

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 35—
   नेमिनाथ देवस्य धूप दीप नैवेद्यपूजा
2. Sadhanamāla p. 18-19—
   धूप दीप पुष्प गन्ध माला etc.
3. A few inscription of earlier period (5th and 6th centuries A. D:) contain the same idea and mention similar procedure of worship. Pāhādpur record mentions the same objects for worship (E. I. Vol. XX p. 61)
   विहारे भगवतामर्हतां गन्ध धूप सुमनो दीप धुपयोगाय दीपाद्यर्थन् तलवाटकं निमित्तश्च
   The record of Vainyagupta contains similar passage—
   भगवतो बुद्धस्य सततं त्रिकालं गन्ध पुष्पदीप धूपादि प्रवर्तनाय
   (I. H. Q. Vol. VI p. 53) while Damodarpur inscription (dated 224 G. E.) has combined वलिचारूसत्र with गन्ध धूप पुष्प प्रायण मधुपर्क (E. I. Vol. XV p. 142) signifying the same meaning.
4. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 62—
   तत्सर्व गोष्ठिभिः कुंकुम धूप पुष्प दीपकं ध्वजाधवलापन खण्ड स्फुटित समरचनादिषु धर्मोपयोग्यं कर्तव्यम्
5. गोष्ठीजन of Mathura record signifies the governing council and its members (E. I. Vol. I p. 282).
6. E. I. Vol. I p. 188; C. I. I. Vol. IV p. 148; E. I. Vol. XIX p. 57.

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for collection of money (income and rent from the houses and Dāna) and division of share for various works (worship etc.). The Chāhamāna record[1] refers to all works of the temple done by members of the governing council, who looked after the gifts and endowments for the worship of the temple deity. The similar members of the temple committee have been referred to in another grant[2] of the family. It is difficult to surmise the composition of the temple council but a few documents mention the names of the members thus giving an idea of its membership. In Mathura record eleven names are given who constituted the governing body of temple administration[3]. In another document of Allatā from Mewār dated V. S. 1010 seven names of *Goṣṭhika* are mentioned among which one Huṇa is also enlisted[4]. Thus it appears that the membership of temple council was not restricted to priest and Brāhmaṇas but other philonthrophic non-Brāhmaṇa donors were also put on the board.

There are a few instances of single individual entrusted with the full administration of temple. One ascetic Onkar Śivāchārya – an inmate of Nitya Pramuditadeva's Maṭha at Rājyapura was put in the charge of management of Śiva temple[5]. The word Goṣṭhi or Goṣṭhika are wanting in this case because governing body was not formed hence there was no question of membership. Here the administration was in the hand of single individual, who was associated with some Maṭha and was assisted by the successors of the donor. In Pratapgarh record of Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla similar

1. E. I. Vol. XI pp. 52 and 54–
   गोष्ठिक समुदाय समन्वितेन; शेष जनानां वसतां साधुभिः गोष्ठिकैः सारा कार्या
2. E. I. Vol. I p. 188–
   यथोद्दिष्ट स्थित्या गोष्ठिकैः सद्भिः स्वतः परतश्च निर्व्वाह कर्तव्य। एते च भागा यथोदिष्ट स्थित्या गोष्ठिकैः कल्पयितव्या
3. E. I. Vol. I p. 292.
4. I. A. Vol. 58 p. 161 – हूणश्च कुपु (?) राजोन्यः सर्वदेवापि गोष्ठिकः
5. E. I. Vol. III p. 264 (Madanadeva record).

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idea has been expressed. In this document the Matha of Hariśwar is described as controlling authority of the temples of Durgā and Sūrya[1]. Another record[2] mentions in the following lines the control of the temple put in the hands of Pāśupata Sādhu who was an immigrant from Lāta :—

लाटान्वय पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरूद्रराशिर्विधिवद्व्यधत्ताम्
स्थानस्य रक्षाविधिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिभीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ।

Tilakawada grant[3] of Paramāra Bhoja states that a sage was appointed as a trustee of the endowments of Śiva temple. *Rājatarangini* supplies similar instance where a Brāhmaṇa named Nāyaka learned in four Vedas was placed in the charge of two temples of Śiva[4].

Temple had also a secondary aspect, though not less important. It worked as the centre of learning and functioned like a college. A record from Rājaputānā states that the queen asked her men to construct a study-hall attached to the temple of Śiva[5]. Further it has been mentioned in *Rājataraginī* that Rāmata a preceptor who was famous for his labour on the work of grammar was appointed to the office of the preceptor of temple in 900 A. D.[6] Thus the sound administration was for the proper functioning of the temple and the arrangement of its various essential works.

Dancing Girls Attached to the Temples

A very regrettable feature of the temple was its corruption by the association of the dancing girls. Among numerous north

1. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 177.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 13 (V. 31).
3. Proceed. oriental conf., Poona 1919 p. 319.
4. Raj Taranga 5/159.
5. E. I. Vol. II p. 13–
   अकारमन्मंदिरमिन्द्र मौलेरिदम्मठेनाद्भुतभूमिकेन
   सहामुना श्री नरसिंहदेव प्रसूर सावल्हण देव्युदारा
   व्याख्यानशालामुद्यानमालाभधिकलाममूम्
   अकारयत्स्वयं शम्भु प्रासादाली द्वयन्निजैः
6. Raj Taranga 5/29 –
   व्याख्या तृपदकं चक्रे स तस्मिन् सुरमन्दिरे ।

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Indian records[1] a few refers to the presence of the dancing girls in the holy institution, who helped in the worship of the deity by dance and music[2]. The very existence and supplementary addition of dancing hall (Nata-mandir[3]) to the earlier temple structure (Deul and Jagamohan) shows that the dance and music became the essential part of worship. Probably this Maṇḍapa was added after 9th century A. D. as the most complete illustration of coalesced temple structure is found in the Khajurāho temple – Kandariya Mahādeva of 10th century A. D. The temple of our period have many sculptures of dancing girls and the musicians. The figures in the dancing pose are common on the walls of Lingarāja temple, Parasarāmeśwar temple and Rājārāni temple of Bhuvaneśwar. The dancing scenes and temple musician have also been carved on the temple walls of Koṇārak. Such is the case of Khajurāho group of early mediaeval temples. *Rājatarangiṇi* mentions the presence of dancing girls attached to temple[4]. Music was very essential part of the worship and *yātrā* as mentioned in the Chāhamāna record[5]. Thus it may be stated that the dancing girls were necessary and common feature of the temple of our period.

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1. South Indian epigraphs record this custom in good many cases. The Lokamahadevi (Bijapur district) Bhujjaleswar temples (Dharwar dist.) had dancing girls in 8th and 10th century A. D. respectively. (The Rāṣṭrakūtas and their times p. 295). The record of Rājarājeswar temple (11th cent. A. D. speaks of 400 dancing girls (S. I. I. Vol. II p. 278).
2. E. I. Vol. I. p. 310 ; (V 30); Vol. VI p. 199-202. C. I. I. Vol. p. 150 grant for नृत्य गीत वाद्योपेत संगीत
3. Indian Architecture (Brown) p. 123.
4. Raj. Taranga IV, 269.
   (तमुचतुस्ते नर्तक्यावावां देवगृहाश्रिते)
5. E. I. Vol. XI p. 28 –
   यत्रदिने यत्रदेवे यात्रा भवति तत्रापर समस्तदेवानां
   सत्क प्रभादाकुलै सर्वैः साकल्पैः सुवस्त्रैः, वाद्यनृत्य गानादि
   विधिना यात्रा कर्तव्या

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The precise time of its origin is still obscure, but the origin of this regrettable custom is to be traced to the desire of providing music at the time of divine worship. The dancing girl does not figure in Jātakas and is not mentioned by the Chines travellers. We may, therefore, presume that the custom was not common till about 6th century A. D. On the architectural evidences the origin may be traced back to 9th century A. D. This was the reason that foreign travellers of this period (Alberuni[1]) and of later time (Marco Polo) have mentioned this custom. These dancing girls degenerated into women of easy virtue and was the cause of vitiation in the temple throughout India. An indirect reference of dancing girl is also found in the Devapara record[2] of Vijayasena (1095-1158 A. D.) of sena family. It has been stated that hundred girls were provided to the temple of Śiva who lives in burial ground. Similar reference has been recorded in Bhuvaneśwar inscription (12th century A. D.) mentioning the female attendants (dancing girls) to temple[3]. Thus it becomes clear that such practice continued in northern India till 12th century A. D.

The Devadasi custom was prevalent in Kathiawara and the number of girls attached to the temple reached high proposition. The temple of Somanātha at the time of its destruction by Mahamuda, is said to have served by 350 girls. In Gujarāta twenty thousand girls were serving, singing and offering flowers to the deity. Alberuni told that the king maintained this institution which was a source of attraction to the people. They met the expenses of the army out of the revenue derived there from[4].

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1. Sachau Vol. II p. 157.
2. रत्नालंकृतिभिर्व्विशेषित वपुः शोभाः शतं सुभ्रुवः
   E. I. Vol. I p. 310 V. 30.
3. E. I. Voi. VI p. 199-202 –
   यासान्नेत्राञ्चल तरलिमा विश्व वश्यैक मंत्रः
   पादन्यास स्त्रिभुवन गतिस्तम्भनं सम्विधत्ते,
   नृत्यारम्भे वलयमणिभिर्न्निर्मिताऽयलदीपा
   स्तस्मै दत्ता स्त्रिपुर जविने तेन तास्ता मृगाक्ष्यः ।
4. Sachau II p. 157.

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(B) Religious Donations.

I. Dana and its purpose

The religious activity of the people in this age was not confined only to temple construction but the pious feeling was also expressed through charitable endowments. The most important among them was the grant of land but activity was extended to various other kinds of gifts. The ruler and the people followed the code of the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. The Dāna was highly eulogized by Smṛti writers who thought that it was the duty of Grihastha to offer gifts (दानमेव गृहस्थानाम्). A Smṛti like Bṛihaspati lays great stress on the gift of land and states that by giving away land a person would become either king or would gain heaven[1]. He futher describes land gift in the following verses as medium of purity and cause of being free from the sin :–

यत्किंचित कुरुते पापं पुरुषो वृतिकर्षितः
अपि गोचर्म मात्रेण भूमिदानेन शुध्यति [2]॥
सुवर्णदानं गोदानं भूमिदानं च वासव :
एतत्प्रयच्छमानस्तु सर्व पापै प्रमुच्यते [3] ॥

According to Attri gods praise the donor for the gift of land[4]. During the consideration of the meritorious gifts all Smṛti writers do not agree in the comparative value of the gifts. Vaśiṣṭha enumerates only three gifts viz. cow, land and learning[5] but Mahābhārata mentions land gift as

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1. Bṛihaspati Smṛti 13, 15.
   स नरः सर्वदा भूप यो ददाति वसुन्धराम्
   भूमिदानस्य पुण्येन फलं स्वर्गः पुरन्दर ।
2. *Ibid.* V. 7.
3. *Ibid.* V. 4.
4. Attri Sambita 337.
   आदित्यो वरुणोविष्णुर्ब्रह्मा सोमोहुताशन ।
   शूलपाणिस्तु भगवानभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदम ।
5. Vasiṣṭha 29/20 –
   त्रीण्याहुरतिदानानि गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वतीम्।
   आदि दानं हिरण्यानां विद्यादानं ततोऽधिकम् ।

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highest among the three[1], while Attri supports the view of Vasiṣṭha in valuing the learning as the highest gift of all[2]. Opinions differ on this point and the gift of Vidyādāna is not held at par to land grant (Bhumidāna). The land grants refer to this kind of gift as a source of heaven which is mentioned in copper plates[3] and the scriptures alike[4]. In the case of land grants the donor has to give up all his rights to the donee. Betama grant[5] of Paramāra king Bhoja and Āmagāchchhi plate[6] of Pāla king mention this fact that the donor has surrendered all their rights to the donee. After the transfer of rights the donee got the authority to collect all dues and even to dig up mines and treasure trove[7]. Even taxes mentioned in the Gāhaḍavāla grants were to be paid to the donee[8]. Thus it testifies to the transfer of rights making the cessation complete.

Contents of the Grants.

In the case of the gift of land it was necessary to inform the state officers and hence we find a long list of state officers concerned with that gift in early mediaeval land grants[9]. The study of the names show that no officer was left out without correct information. The details were carved on the copper plates for the record in the state.

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1. अति दानानि सर्वाणि पृथिवी दानमुच्यते (अनु० 62/12)
2. सर्वोषामेव दानानां विद्या दानं ततोऽधिकम् (Attri 340-)
3. E. I. Vol. II p. 360; Vol. IX p. 305; Vol. XI p. 20.
4. भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्य भूमि प्रयच्छति
   उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ
   (Briddha Hārita 7/164)
5. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 320.
6. *Ibid.* Vol. XV p. 299.
7. सहिरण्य भागभोगकर सोपरिकर सर्वादाय समेत सनिधि निक्षेप
   E. I. Vol. IX p. 112 : *Ibid.* Vol. VII p. 105.
8. E. I. Vol. VIII 154-5 : Vol. VII p. 99 and Vol. XVIII p. 222-6 प्रवणिकर and तुरुष्कदण्ड
9. E. I. Vol. XV : Vol. XVIII and Vol. IV (Pāla grants have a big list).

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If by mistake land previously given to another donee was granted, the mistake was rectified by the king who positively excluded that part given in the favour of others. In Saktipur record of Sena ruler Lakshmaṇa Sena similar case has been mentioned. The king donated 89 droṇas of land distributed among several villages to a Brāhmaṇa viz. Kubera on the occasion of solar eclipse. The total income of the land was 500 Kapardaka *Purāṇas*. It was transacted in exchange of a Kshetrapāṭaka (land) yielding the same income, which had already been granted to Haridās by king Ballālasena on certain previous occasion. When this fact was learnt, the king rectified the mistake by giving the donee-Kubera some land of equal valuation in exchange of that area[1] (Khetrapaṭaka). This practice was observed throughout northern India. We learn from the Chandela grant that five "Hala" (land measure) of land in the village were excluded from the gift already given to Buddha Saṁgha[2]. The expressions देव ब्राह्मण भुक्ति व्रजम[3] of Bhoja's copper plate and पूर्वदत्त भुक्त भुज्यमान् देव ब्रह्मदेय वर्जिता[4] occuring in Devapāla's Nālandā inscription, have been used in the same sense. In abnormal situation when the ruler was not in a position to exchange the gifted land he purchased some other land and bestowed it in the same manner[5].

There was no time factor in these land grants but the donee was to enjoy it till eternity. The line 'आचन्द्रार्क क्षिति समकालम्' is very significant i. e. these documents were of permanent nature and the word 'अक्षयनिवि' of the inscriptions connotes the same meaning. In the grants the method of registration has been described and the word Patta (पट्ट) has been used for copper plate. It was obligatory on the part of

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1. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 219 (Pataka was the part of a village)
2. E. I. Vol. XX p. 129-30. देवश्रीबुद्ध·····पंचहलानि वहिष्कृत्य शेषभूमिशासनीकृत्य प्रदत्ता।
3. I. H. Q. Vol. VIII p. 305.
4. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 321.
5. *Ibid*. Vol. I p. 85; Vol. II p. 360 and Vol. XIV p. 194.
6. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 321.

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donor to contract a deed. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* contains[1] some rules which were generally followed by the king of this period. Each document had the seal of the donor and the Royal seal appearing on the documents are of different types with mediaeval dynasties. Pāla grants have Buddhist seal with Chakra[2] figure and deers whereas Sena records have the effigy of Sadā-Śiva on the seal[3]. Some Hindu rulers have Gajalakshmi[4] or effigy of Garuda[5] because they followed the Vaiṣṇava faith. Thus we find that seals differ with dynasties of this period. Besides the royal seal the documents were further authenticated by the signature[6] of kings occuring at the end of the copper plate inscriptions signifying the practice of signing of documents[7] during 11th century A. D.

Dharmaśastra writers on specific considerations have divided religious records in three (1) *Nitya* (2) *Naimitika*—Dāna given on particular occasions and (3) *Kāmya* which is donated out of desire for securing progeny, merit, prosperity or heaven[8]. Gifts mentioned in the official docu-

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1. प्रदृव ताम्रपट्टैवा स्वमुद्रोपरि चिह्नितम्
अभिलेख्यात्मनो वंश्यानात्मानं च महीपतिः । Yāg. 1/318.
The copper plates use the sentence. ताम्रपट्टम्शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्ता इति (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 192-9) which gives the same idea.
2. Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla (E. I. Vol. IV); Āmagachhi inscription of Vigrahapāla and Sarnath record of Kumāradevi have Dharmachakra representing first sermon of Buddha at Sarnath.
3. It is a Śiva image (E. I. Vol. XV p. 270).
4. Also called Śri Lakshmī (*Ibid*. Vol. XI p. 139).
5. The bird is Vāhana of Viṣṇu (I. A. Vol. VI p. 48).
6. Mandhata plate (E. I. Vol. III p. 49) स्वहस्तोयं श्री जयसिंहदेवस्य
Earlier example is Bānskhara plate of Harsha, where we find 'स्वहस्तोमम महाराजाधिराज श्रीहर्षस्य'.
7. Bansawara plate (*Ibid*. Vol. XI p. 183) स्वहस्तोयं श्री भोजदेवस्य
8. ध्रुवमाजास्त्रिकं काम्यं नैमित्तिक मिति कुमात् (दानकाण्डः G.O.S. No. XCII p. 7). Kane deals with these three classes in connection with Śrāddha (Hist. of Dharma Śastra Vol. IV P, 369–70). Nitya performed on fixed occasion (as Amāvaśya); Naimitika

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ments may be classified into Naimitika and Kāmya but most of the agrahāra grants are of latter type. In the Hindu[1] and Buddhist[2] grants the belief in heaven has been over emphasised, and summum bonum of life was salvation. In other words this will correspond Pūrtadharma of Smṛti-writers. Yama states that sacrifice (iṣta-yajna) and distribution of charity (Pūrta) or dedication to the temple deity are the cause of salvation[3]. The very words *Iṣṭāpūrti* mentioned by Attri and Likhita[4] deserve consideration and perhaps later Smṛti writers followed Manu[5]. Though this word (इष्टा पूर्ति) is not clearly mentioned in official records but its meaning and sense are clear from their description in the records of age.

The Three Main Factors

In early mediaeval period the people and the kings were inclined towards religious benefactions. The time of gift, the place of donation and the proper donee were chief problems of consideration and factors contemplated before the grants were affected. The persons with charitable sentiments attached much value to the Smṛti law and Paurānic principles. Many Smṛti writers[6] include the three factors *Desha*, *Kāla* and *Pātra* in the six constituent parts of Dāna. The Smṛti writer Daksha has gone ahead to state that in the presence of unworthy donee, the efficacy of the grants is destroyed[7]. The

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on uncertain occasions (such as birth of a son); Kāmya for rewards of fruits.

1. E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 96; *Ibid.* Vol.III p. 321 and Vol.XII p. 24.
2. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 305; Vol. VI p. 280, ; Vol. XV p. 4.
3. इष्टेन लभते स्वर्गं पूर्ते मोक्षं समश्नुते (Yama 68; Attri 45).
4. इष्टापूर्ते द्विजातिनां सामान्यौ धर्मऽच्यते
   अधिकारी भवेच्छूद्रः पूर्ते धर्मे न वैदिके
   (Attri Samhita 46, Likhita smṛti 6).
5. श्रद्धयेष्टञ्च पूर्तेश्च नित्यं कुर्यादतन्द्रितः (Manu 4, 226).
6. Attri (152) Daksha (329) : Vedavyāsa (IV. 35-38) and Bṛihaspati (60).
7. विधिर्हीने तथाऽपात्रे यो ददाति प्रतिग्रहम्
   न केवलं हि तद्दानं शेषमप्यस्य नश्यति । (Daksha 3, 29).

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critical study of the documents informs us that in the case of land donation, all the six aspects have drawn the proper attention of the donors.

The donees were mostly learned Brāhmaṇas (individuals) and the public institutions also developed out of the charity or endowments. In Kalachuri grants Brāhmaṇas conversant with Veda were the recipient of gifts[1]. Similar instances can be multiplied in support of the above statement[2] and such cases have already been discussed in the previous chapter. Secondly donor's pedigree and family history were essential factors of the grants. The very procedure of the donation (river bath, worship and *Tarpaṇa*) shows the charitable attitude (*Śraddhā*) of the donor and his strong desire for gift. The forth place has been occupied by the subject of gift i. e. land itself which is clearly specified in the documents (area with boundary along with taxes). The consideration of suitable occasion (*Kāla*) and proper place (*Desha*) were not out of focus but the latter is usually not specified in the epigraphic documents. So on the above analysis it can be stated that official and religious records were planned according to the rule of Smṛtis and nothing was against the laws of Dharmaśāstra.

Sale and Mortgage of Gift

The examination of ancient Indian land grants reveals that normally the gift was of permanent nature. The donee was given full rights over the land. Probably the grant was free from royal tax but one Orissan record mentions tax from land grant i.e. it was rent paying holding. The land was gifted with the

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1. यस्तु चतुर्थो भागः सपञ्चदशधा कृतो विभागेन ।
   तत्र द्वादश विप्राः प्रति वेदं प्रति चतुष्केन..... ।
   .....सर्वेपि च सद्भोज्याः E. I. Vol. XI p. 192-8.

2. The following line from the Pāla record may be quoted :–
   सामवेदिन कौथुमी शाखाध्यायिने मीमांसा व्याकरण तर्क
   विद्याविदे.....महोपाध्याय
   अर्कदेव पुत्राय सोमग्राह विधि.....
   शासनी कृत्य प्रदत्तो.....स्मामिः I. A. Vol. XIV p. 168.

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understanding that Bhumi *Kara* (tax) will be paid to the king[1]. No body can cause hindrance if they (donees) enjoy, cultivate, give away, mortgage or sell the Agrahāra village together with all plants and houses[2]. But the transfer of proportional or entire grant was generally not permitted by the society. A few cases of mortgage of land grants have been recorded in the dynastic epigraphs, but that was done in a very critical circumstances. In Chandela record of king Trailokyamalladeva[3] (1212 A. D.) the detail procedure of mortgage has been given and this kind of deed (mortgage) was called *Vitta-Banda*. We learn that the village Alira was pledged by Śaiva teacher Śānti Śiva—son of Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, to Ranaka Dhāraka; but no mention is made of the actual money taken on loan[4]. The deed of mortgage was finalised before certain witnesses and all rights to collect taxes were transferred to mortgagee[5]. Probably the village was mortgaged to raise funds. Another similar example is found in the record of Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govinda Chandra Deva (dated 1120 A. D.). That land in question was originally given to Rājaguru Śivachanda by the Kalachuri king Yasahkarṇa Deva. The grant was transferred to Vasiṣṭha Śarmana and the change of hands was due to the fact that the land lay in the area conquerred by Govinda Chandra from the Kalachuri monarch[6]. Sometime the donee was granted certain land by the king in exchange of the land situated in other territory. The donee got fresh land in lieu of his original

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1. E. I. Vol. XXIX P. 167.
2. भुञ्जानानां कर्षतां कषयतां दानाधान विक्रयं वा कुर्वतां न केनचित्काचिद्बाधा कर्तव्या (E. I. Vol. p. 169).
3. E. I. Vol. XXV p. 6.
4. श्रीमद् राजगुरुविमल शिवसुतः शांतशिवानुजो हर्ष रुपतया याव ( ) दीयते तावद वापितं इति वित्त बंधतया किंचित्कार्यं कारणितापि वा.....श्रीमद्धारेकस्य यावदिच्छा प्रतिपद्यते। (E. I. Vol. XXV p. 6).
5. *Ibid.* lines 19-20.
6. Bengal Asiatic Society plate (J. A. S. B. Vol. XXXI p. 123 H).

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grant[1]. Thus it appears, that some critical situation was the cause of the transfer of grants otherwise donee enjoyed it[2].

Purposes of the Gifts.

It has been emphasised that majority of our grant were *Naimitika* and *Kāmya* both and their analysis indicates the specific aims and purposes of the gifts, which can be mentioned in the following order :—

(a) Temple construction[3] and expenses for worship (Angarāga) of the deity.

(b) The second is educational. The gift was to increase the knowledge of the individual. Teachers were financed and encouraged.

(c) The aim of grant was to meet the expenses of Devayātrā or Rathayātrā.

(d) Grant as *Dakshinā* to Mahādāna.

(e) The other purpose mentioned in the epigraphs was the gift of money for the marriage of Brāhmaṇa girl.

(f) Grant to the migrated learned Brāhmaṇas.

The educational grant was a most noted feature of this age. We know that many centres of learning attracted the foreign scholars to India. Therefore it was essential to supply all the necessities of life to the almuni and the Pandits so that they could prosecute their studies[4]. Even Madanpāla of Bengal himself a Buddhist, gave the gift of the village to a learned Brāhmaṇa for reciting *Mahābhārata* to his queen Chitrāmatikā[5]. In several documents the gift were sanctioned to some educational institution rather than

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1. E. I. Vol. XXXII p. 120.
2. तत्र द्वादश विप्रा·····सर्वेपि च सद्भोज्या लेखकश्चार्य गोण्ण इति इति (E. I. Vol. XI p. 192).
3. This question has already been discussed in the previous pages.
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 181.
5. J. A. S. B. Vol. 69 No. 1 p. 68. (पट्टमहादेवी श्रीचित्रमतिक्या वेदव्यास प्रोक्त प्रपाठित महाभारत समुत्सर्जित दक्षिणारवेन)

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individuals. In the time of Nārāyaṇapāla of Bengal the grant was made to a Śaiva Maṭha where Pāśupata teachers had their seat[1]. Jayasingh gifted land to Amareswar Pāṭhaśāla[2]. Miscellaneous types of articles such as horse, seat, umbrella, shoes and large quantity of grain were given for different purposes[3]. Nālānda plate of Devapāla gives a vivid picture of Mahā Vihāra and its working as international seat of learning. The endowment was made for dress and medicine of monks arrangement of seats in the Vihāra and for the alms-house attached to it[4]. Such references can be multiplied in support of the above view, showing that institutions were more favoured in this age[5]. The institution named Sattra (alms-house) became very popular in our period where gifts were made to meet the expenses of food distribution among the poor and destitute[6].

In mediaeval age the procession of deity (Devayātrā) was organised on fixed days, which was commonly known as Rathayātrā. The expense of this function was met by

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1. पाशुपत आचार्य परिषदश्य····· (I. A. Vol. XV p. 309).
2. सर्वादाय समेतश्च श्री अमरेश्वरे पाठशाला ब्राह्मणेभ्य: ····· भोजनादि निमित्तम् (E. I. Vol. III p. 49).
3. अन्नं वर वसन शतान्यश्व शय्यासनानि छात्रोपानद्विचित्रासन भवन महाधान्यदान (E. I. Vol. I p. 150).
4. भिक्षुसंघस्य वलि चरू सत्र चीवर पिण्डपात शयनासन·····भेषजार्थं (E. I. XVII p. 322).
5. E. I. Vol. VII p. 49; Vol. XX p. 129.
6. The problem has been dealt with in the section of beggary. This institution was known by the different names in the different period. One Sanskrit inscription inscribed in the year 28 of Huviska (100 A. D.) speaks of *Punyaśālā* where eatables were distributed among poors and hungry (Handbook of Sculptures in the Museum of Mathura p. 27 pillar No. 1913). In Gupta period (415 A. D.) alms house was named *Dharma Sattra* (Fleet C. I. I. Vol. III p. 43). In early mediaeval period the popular name was *Sattra*.

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gifts[1]. It is mostly referred to in the inscriptions of Rājaputānā where Rathayātrā was a popular function. The Bhinmāla record of Udai Singh deva mentions the deposit of forty Drammas out of which some amount was spent for Yātrā festival[2]. The Chāhamāna inscription dated Sam. 1233 speaks of a grant of barley corn for celebrating the festival of Jain Tirthankar Śānti Nāth[3]. Similar descriptions are found in dynastic documents referring to the gift of oil[4] from oil-mills (*Ghaṇaka*) and one Vimsopaka when the ruler participated in that *Ratha-Yātra*[5]. The kind of donation seems to be occassional but not of permanent nature.

Another notable purpose was to meet dakshiṇā of Dāna. After every *Mahādāna dakshiṇā* was given which is the other type of Dāna[6]. Ancient Indian kings were fond of weighing one's body against gold which is expressed as तुलापुरुषदान[7] हेमात्मतुल्यदान[8] or कनकतुलापुरुषदान[9] in the mediaeval inscriptions. All these words have been used in the same meaning. That gold was distributed among Brāhmaṇas and Hindu rulers obeyed the Dharmaśāstra rules and followed this practice. Vijayasena, Ballālasena and Lakshmaṇsena of Bengal offered villages to Vasudeva Śarmana and Isvaradeva

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1. E. I. Vol. II p. 124.
2. *Ibid*. Vol. XI p. 50
   जगत्स्वामिन देवीय भाण्डागारे क्षेपित ४०
   आश्विने यात्रायां आश्विन वदी १४ (Now on) आषाढ़ कृष्णा २ ।
3. Lalrai record of Kalhana (E. I. Vol. XI).
   श्री शांतिवाथदेवयात्रा निमित्तं भाडियाड व अरघट उरहारि
   मध्यात्.....एतत दानं
4. Pratapgarh record (E. I. XIV p. 192; E. I. Vol. I p. 160.
   उपरि लिखित देवकुलाभ्यां द्वाभ्यामपि दीप तैलार्थं
   समस्त तैलिक श्रेण्या प्रतिकोल्हूकं.....तैलपलिका दातव्ये
5. Nadlai grant of Rajyapala (E. I. Vol. XI p. 42).
6. महादान दक्षिणा (E. I. Vol. XIV p. 158.
7. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 15.
8. E. I. Vol. IV p. 118; Vol. XIII p. 218.
9. *Ibid*. Vol. XV p. 278.

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Śarmana as *Dakshiṇa* after the Mahādāna[1]. This type of Mahādāna was not confined to Bengal only but Kanauj ruler Goyindchandradeva gave 32 villages as *Dakshiṇa*[2] for तुलापुरुषदान (Tulāpuruṣadāna). Kashmir king is said to have given extensive *Dakshiṇā* after the sacrifices (*Rājataraṅgiṇi* Taranga 2387). Thus we find that *Dakshiṇā*[3] also formed a substantial part of the donation.

The other important aim of gift was the grant of money for the marriage of Brāhmaṇa girls. Purāṇas and Smṛti writers mention such donation as most meritorious. According to Padma Purāṇa the donors of the money for meeting the marriage expenses get salvation and would have no re-birth[4]. The same is recommended by Daksha[5] and Vaśiṣṭha[6] eulogizing it as the source of merit in getting a Brāhmaṇa

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1. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 156-8; Vol. XII p. 10; Vol. XV p. 284.
   हेमश्वमहादान दक्षिणात्वेन (Naihati & Tarpandihi grants).
2. *Ibid*. Vol. XIV p. 197 –
   कनकतुलाप्रपुरुषमहादान होमकर्म्मण दक्षिणा
3. Dr. P. V. Kane has stated without any strong evidence that दक्षिणा should consist pre-eminently of gold, but if gold is the article to be donated, then दक्षिणा may be of silver. In the case of very costly gifts like तुलापुरुष, दक्षिणा may be one hundred or fifty or 20 or 10 niskas or one tenth of the price of the thing gifted (History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II Pt. II p. 855) perhaps it is based on Danakriyakaumudi (p. 11) a digest of very late period (15 cent. A. D.).
4. सालंकारांद्विजश्रेष्ठ कन्यां यच्छति यो नरः
   सगच्छेद् ब्रह्म सदनं पुनर्ज्जन्य न विद्यते
   (Padma Purāṇa—ब्रह्मखण्ड Ch. 24 V. 22)
   Here कन्यादान should not be taken literally. It simply means the expense for the marriage of Brāhmaṇa girls.
5. माता पितृ विहीनं तु संस्कारो द्वाहनादिभिः
   यः स्थापयति तस्येह पुण्य संख्यान विद्यते
   न तच्छ्रेयोऽग्नि होत्रेण नाग्निष्टोमेन लभ्यते
   यच्छ्रेयः प्राप्यते पुंसां विप्रेण स्थापितेन वै (दक्ष ३; ३२–३३)
6. Viśiṣṭha smṛiti 29, 19.

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girl married by dāna. In epigraphic records, there are numerous instances of kings spending for the marriage of Brāhmaṇa girls. Nāsik cave inscription mentions it as pious gift by the Śaka king Nahapāna[1] and the same is stated in the records of later Gupta king namely Apsad inscription of Ādityasena[2] (8th century A. D.). Here the Agrahāra has been endowed for the purpose of marriage of hundred Brāhmaṇa girls.[3] As the Brāhmaṇas were supposed to lead a life of comparative poverty and always engaged in teaching without stipulating for any fee the state provided *Sattra* (alms house) which enables the Brāhmaṇa to carry on their functions without any anxiety for meal. Thus it drew the attention of the people and hence donor met the expenses of the marriage of their donee's (Brāhmaṇa's) girls. The purposes of gifts, though many were fascinating but the attainment of merit and salvation were the chief aims of donations.

The last aim of grants was to maintain the learned Brāhmaṇas who had migrated to that state for the search of livelihood or some occupation. Pāla records describe the Brāhmaṇa Garga who received grants and later on became the minister of Dharmapāla. It is said that Garga migrated to Bengal from Madhyadesh[4]. Similar description is known from Paramāra grant where Vākapati Raj II donated to twenty-six Brāhmaṇas who had migrated to Mālwā from Madhyadesha[5]. Other records mention the gifts to a Brāhmaṇa hailing from Gaṇḍ desha[6] (West Bengal) and rent

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1. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78, Vol. VII p. 57 ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन
2. C. I. I. Vol. III no. 42 p. 203.
3. गुणवद् द्विजकन्यानां नानालंकार यौवनवतीनाम्
   परिणयितवान्स नृपः शतं निसृष्टाग्रहाराणाम्
   (Ibid V.12)
4. E. I. Vol II p. 180; Vol XIV P. 166.
5. मध्यदेशान्त पातित्यभट ग्राम विनिर्गताय वशिष्ट गोत्र छान्दोग्य शाखिने ब्राह्मण (E. I. Vol VI P. 40–54)
6. E. I. Vol XXXIII P. 218.

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free land to migrated Brāhmaṇas from Pataliputra[1]. Thus highly meritorious Brāhmaṇas or assembly of Brāhmaṇas (*Brahma Sansada*) received donations in newly settled areas[2].

II The Place of Dāna (*Desha*)

In the religious atmosphere people had no mind to deviate from the code of Śāstras. The donor strictly adhered to those rules and accordingly places of Dāna were selected. In Purāṇas and Smṛtis "*Tīrtha*" has been preferred as right place of donation as thousand times more merit is gained when the gift is offered at a sacred place (पुण्यतीर्थेषु सहस्राम्). *Skandapurāṇa* quoted by Hemādri[3] states :

वाराणसी कुरुक्षेत्रं प्रयाग पुष्कराणि च
× × ×
येषु तीर्थेषु यद्दतं फलस्यानन्त्य कृद्भवेत्

This maxim was known to the writers of epigraphs also. The Mongiryr grant of Devapāla contains similar idea about *Tīrtha* in the line *Tirtheshu Dharmyāh Kriya*[4]. The land grants contain ample information regarding various *Tīrthas* where the gifts were offered. *Sankha Smṛti* mentions only five *Tirthas*[5] whereas the grants of early mediaeval period refer to many more places of pilgrimage and religious benafactions. Gāhadavāla records also refer to Prayaga[6] Kāshī[7] and Ayodhyā[8] as place of Dāna and pilgrimage. The holy place Puṣakar[9] is located in Rājaputānā where king Sinharāja of early mediaeval period donated four villages.

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1. Ibid Vol XXXII P. 119–125 (पाटलिपुत्र नगर विनिर्गताय)
2. Ibid Vol XXVI P. 218
3. Dānakhanda (1270 A. D.) p. 83.
4. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 305 (तीर्थेषु धर्म्याः क्रिया)
5. यद्ददाति गया क्षेत्रे प्रभासे पुष्करे तथा
   प्रयागे नैमिषारण्ये सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते (Sankha Smṛti 14/27)
6. E. I. Vol. IV p. 122 (Veni = Prayaga)
7. E. I. Vol. IV and Vol. VIII p. 154 (श्रीमद् वाराणस्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा)
8. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 193 (स्वर्गद्वार नाम्नि तीर्थे स्नात्वा)
9. E. I. Vol. II p. 129.

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Alberuni[1] has also stated that king visited *Tirtha* and gave dāna and alms to Brāhmaṇas. There are other references of kings going to several *Tirthas* viz. Kurukshetra[2], Gaya[3] and Kālākāleśvara[4] and granting lands on those sacred places.

The other minor places of Dāna were camps of war (Jayaskandhāwāra) and the capital of kings who readily donated according to the circumstances.

III Occasions for Dana (*Kāla*)

Among various considerations the question of proper time drew the attention of donors. In the dynastic records the time of gift has been invariabiy stated in detail. The sanctity of these religious endowments was more enhanced by granting them on sacred occassions and the land grants were in consonance with the rules of the Smṛtis (proper time of Dāna) in ancient India. The analysis of the records shows that these occasions may be broadly classified into three categories viz. (1) Time of *Saṃskāras* (2) Religious festivals and function and (3) Occasion of the festivity on the political victory. In the early mediaeval inscriptions the three social Saṃsakāras namely birth (Jātakarma) naming (Nāmakarṇa) and annual funeral day (Śrāddha) have been considered as auspicious days for gift. Gāhaḍavāla records refer to these three ceremonies as suitable time for donation. A record mentions the day of birth of the prince as the occasion of Dāna[5]. King Jayachandra gifted two villages on the naming ceremony of his son[6], Harishachandra while his Predecessor Govindchandradeva granted on the annual funeral ceremony which falls on the 15th day of black half

1. Sachau Vol. II p. 147.
2. A. S. I. Ā. R. 1902–3 p. 256.
3. E. I. Vol. XXV p. 317.
4. Ibid Vol. XIX p. 71.
5. J. A. S. B. Vol. VII p. 40; E. I. Vol. IV p. 128.
6. राजपुत्र श्रीहरिश्चन्द्र नाम करणे
   Banaras C. P. dated 1175 A. D.; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 130.

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of Āświna[1]. In Gāhaḍavāla record the actual date of funeral ceremony has been mentioned in the following manner.

आश्विन मासि कृष्ण पक्षे १५ पितु :
सम्वत्सरिक पार्वणि श्राद्धे[2]

Similarly Kalachuri grants speak of only *Śrāddha* days of king[3] and queen[4] as the occasions of gifts. But these records do not mention date of *Śrāddha* which might have fallen on any day of a month.

The question of religious occasions has been discussed by Smṛti writers— Attri and Sātāpata while the records of this period supply greater detailed information about the similar times of Dāna. Smṛtis have laid emphasis on eclipse–Shaḍa Shīti[5] and Saṁkrānti (*Ayana*) as suitable times for the gift[6].

Our official records mention many more occasions for endowments including the three referred to in the Smṛtis.

The detailed examination of the documents of different dynasties reveals that solar eclipse was regarded the most sacred time for Dāna[7]. Gāhaḍavāla grants[8], Parmāra and

1. I. A. Vol. XIX p. 351.
2. E. I. Vol. IV p. 105 and 98
3. Ibid Vol. II p. 310 गांगेयदेवस्य सम्वत्सरेश्राद्धे
4. I. A. Vol. XVI p. 205 आत्मीय मातुः राज्ञी श्री साम्वत्सरीके
   Vol. XIX p. 349 (Paramāra grant)
   In Chandela record we find the similar reference to Śrāddha ceremony of king's mother as the occasion for Dāna.
5. Sun's entrance into the zodical signs (राशि) of Gemini, Virgo, Sagittanns and pisces is known as षडशीति
6. ग्रहणोद्वाह संक्रान्तौ स्त्रीणां च प्रसवे तथा
   दानं नैमित्तिकं ज्ञेय रात्रौचापि प्रशस्यते (Attri 327)
   अयनेषु च यद्दत्तं षड्शीति मुखे तथा
   चन्द्र सूर्योपरागे च दत्तं भवति चाक्षयम् ।
   अयनादौ सदा दद्यात् द्रव्यमिष्टं गृहेवसेत
   षड्शीति मुखे चैव विमुक्ते चन्द्रसूर्ययोः (लघुशातातप 145, 151)
7. E. I. Vol. III p. 355; Vol. XIII p. 20; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 15
8. E. I. Vol. IV p. 158; Vol. XXI p. 219; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 14-19. राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे ।

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Kalachuri records[1] have used different expressions for the eclipse of Sun. The schedule time for the eclipse was Amāvasyā (15th day of black half) which has been referred to in the inscriptions with addition of names of months Pausa[2], Jeyeṣtha[3] or Kartika[4] hailing from the western part of Northern India. In the state of Bengal also gift has been mentioned on the time of solar eclipse[5]. Similarly lunar eclipse (Chandra Grhaṇa) was not less important time for gift, and it had the same sanctity[6]. The phrase (सोमग्रहण[7] or सोमग्रहण पर्व्वणि[8]) have been mentioned for lunar eclipse which occured on 15th day of bright half of the month whether it is Māgha[9] or Bhādrapada[10]. The Chandela king Dhanga also is said to have donated villages to Brāhmaṇas on the similar day of lunar eclipse[11]. Thus we find that both eclipses were equally auspicious and donations were given on these days.

The next important occasion was *Ayana* mentioned both in Smṛtis and epigraphs of our period. According to astronomy, the Ayanas fall on 21st June and 22nd December each year, when Sun enters the northern and southern portion of equater respectively. These two are known as Norther *Saṁkrānti* (उत्तर (+ अयन) संक्रान्ति) and Southern *Saṁkrānti* (दक्षिण (+ अयन (संक्रान्ति) in the official documents[12]. Many

1. Nagapur Prasasti V. 55; (E. I. Vol. IX p. 169 सूर्योपरागे)
2. E. I. Vol. XXV p. 310.
3. ज्येष्ठमासे कृष्णापक्षे १५ तिथौ रवौ (E. I. Vol. IV p. 108)
4. A. R. of A. Dept. Gwalior State 1930–31 p. 11
5. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 212.
6. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 92; Vol. IX p. 105; Vol. II p. 334 ; I. A. Vol. XIX p. 351.
7. I. A. Vol. XXI p. 95; Vol. XIX p. 351.
8. E. I. Vol. XIX p. 101
9. Ibid Vol. IV p. 107.
10. Ibid Vol. IX p. 105.
11. I. A. Vol. XVI p. 201–6.
12. The word अयन is added to उत्तर or दक्षिण indicating northern and southern equinoxes.

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Gāhaḍavāla grants record the gift on *Karka Saṁkrānti*[1] (summer solstice) while others mention grant on *Makar Saṁkrānti* (winter solstice[2]) for worshiping God Śiva. Besides these two important Ayanas (*Saṁkrānti*) other minor days *Saḍashīti* were also held sacred for gifts. Among them Kanyā[3], Bṛhaspati[4] and Mīna[5] Saṁkrānti are worth mentioning. Even in a Buddhist record of Mahipāla this Brāmaṇical occasion (Vaiṣṇava Saṁkrānti) was held pious for offering land in honour of Buddha[6].

Some other minor festive days of the year have been stated to be auspicious in the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions[7], when grants were given in favour of Brāhmaṇas or to some institution. Among those *Akshaya Tritiya* (falling on the third day of the bright half of Vaisākha), 30th day of *Magha*[8] and Śrāvaṇa *Purnima*[9] of the Gāhaḍavāla records and Kartika Purnima[10] of Kalachuri as well, were thought as proper time of Dāna. The birth day of Rāma and Kṛiṣṇa (रामनवमी and कृष्ण जन्माष्टमी) were held sacred for charity. A permanent endowment of one Palika of oil from oil-mill and five bundles of flowers along with hundred garlands for the deity was made on 9th bright day of Chaitra (Rama Navami[11]). Similar is the case of Kṛiṣṇa's birth day (falling on 8th day of black half of Bhādrapada) when the

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1. Kamauli grants E. I. Vol. VII p. 158; I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 11-12; A. S. I. A. R. 1902-3 p. 255.
2. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 33.
3. E. I. Vol. IV p. 131.
4. Ibid
5. Ibid Vol. XIV p. 186.
6. Ibid Vol. XXIX p. 7.
7. Pali plate (E. I. Vol. V p. 113) and Lar Plate (Ibid Vol. VII p. 98; and Vol. XIV p. 192).
8. I. A. Vol. XV p. 6; E. I. Vol. IV p. 107; Vol. VIII p. 152.
9. E. I. Vol. IV p. 110 (श्रावणमासे शुक्लपक्ष पूर्णमास्यां)
10. E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 72; Vol. X p. 75.
11. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 188.

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king Jayachandra was initiated to worship the god Kṛiṣṇa (Ādikeshava[1]).

These were not the exclusive occasions but other days Tirthi of the certain months spoken of in the mediaeval records were holy Tithis for Dāna. 7th day of bright half of *Māgha* known as *Mahasaptami* or Ratha Saptami[2]; 6th day of bright half of Āsādha[3]; (or 10th day[4]) 3rd day of bright half of Bhādra[5] and first day of bright Śrāvaṇa[6] have been enumerated as occassions of gift. The other charity was given on Ekādasi[7] Tithi (famous as देवोत्थान or प्रबोधिनी एकादसी) falling on 11th day of bright half of Kārtika and on day of celebration of god's procession (Rathayātrā[8]). The Chāhamāna record of Rājanutāna[9] also mentions the same Tithis for donation.

Concluding the discussion of suitable time i. e. *Kāla* of the Smṛtis, something is worth mentioning regarding intercalary month of the year. We learn from *Abhidhāna Rājendra* (Vol. I p. 224) that *Adhika Āsādha* and *Adhika Śrāvaṇa* were specially noted for their sanctity and they are called Ārya Māsa (auspicious month). This is the reason that the intercalary months (like अधिक श्रावण and अधिक आषाढ़) have been con-

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1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 118.
2. E. I. Vol. IV p. 122.
3. Ibid p. 121.
4. Ibid p. 119.
5. भाद्रपदमासि शुक्लपक्षे तृतीयायांतिथौ (Ibid p. 112).
6. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 188.
7. देवोत्थनी एकादस्यां (I. A. Vol. XLIII p. 193.
   It is strange that even Jains observe the Ekādasi on that day and donate cash (150 drama) and kind to Jain Vihar. (E. I. XXXIII p. 46) The worship of the deity was essential on Ekādaii. The 11th day of the bright half of Āswina was a sacred day for grant and special worship of Jain Tīrthankaras.
8. E. I. Vol. II p. 124.
9. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 211 (एकादसि देवउपस्थापनी पर्वणि)

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sidered sacred period for Dāna in the Chedi[1] and Pratihāra[2] inscriptions respectively. Thus it appears that donors relying on the text of *Abhidhām Rājendra* dedicated gifts to gain merit and bliss. The examination of land grants and their topography bring us to the conclusion that throughout northern India people were inclined towards charitable endowments in this period. Even Buddhist kings came forward to donate lands. The Pāla rulers were inclined towards such charitable work and its efficacy in life. The similar condition prevailed during Sena regime. King Ballālasena and Lakshamaṇasena were fond of Māhadāna and various other kind of donations. Ballālasena also wrote Dānasāgara (a work on dāna) which is an important work on the subject.

The other occasion was of political nature though not specifically mentioned in the epigraphic documents of this age. In Vedic literature *Abhisheka* is mentioned as occasion of that type and the *Aith. Brāhmaṇa* (39.7) speaks of proclaimation of the gifts of gold, land and cattle on the anointing of the king. The records of mediaeval period are silent on this point except a few referring to anointment and victory of the ruling chief. Some of the Gāhaḍavāla records contain the announcement of grant by the king Jayachandra on the day of coronation[3]. The more common type of political occasion was the victory day or anniversary of the victorious campaign. Bānswārā plate[4] of Paramāra king Bhojadeva mentions the occasion of victory over konkaṇa[5]. Similar idea is contained in a 10th century A.D. record which describes that a grant was made by the feudatory Siyaka on the instruction of Parmāra ruler after King's return from successful expedition against Yogarāja[6]. We

1. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 212.
2. A. R. of Arch. Survey of Gwalior State 1930-31 p. 11.
3. I. A. Vol. XIV p. 7; E. I. Vol. IV p. 99.
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 182 कोंकणविजय पर्व्वणि
5. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 32 कोंकण ग्रहण विजय पर्व्वणि (Betama plate)
6. Proceedings of 3rd Oriental Conference, Madras p. 303.

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have not frequent descriptions of such occasions and hence the topic has to be closed with above information.

(IV) Sodasha Mahadana

The religious activity of the people of the age under review consisted of a special type of gift known as Mahādāna in the Brahmanical literature. Several Purāṇas[1] mention the following sixteen Mahādānas :—

(1) *Tulā purusha.*
(2) *Hiraṇya garbha.*
(3) *Brahmaṇda.*
(4) *Kalpa Briksha.*
(5) *Gosahasra.*
(6) *Kāmadhenu,* (*Hiraṇya Kāmadhenu*).
(7) *Hiranāyśva.*
(8) *Hiranyāśvaratha.*
(9) *Hema Hasti Ratha.*
(10) *Pañcha Lāṅgala.*
(11) *Dharādāna.*
(12) *Viśvachakra.*
(13) *Kalpalata.*
(14) *Sapta Sāgara.*
(15) *Ratna Dhenu.*
(16) *Mahābhūtaghata.*

But it is strange that early mediaeval records refer to only four Mahādāna viz. Tulāpurūṣha, Gosahasra, Hiranyāsva (Hemāsva) and Hiraṇyāsva Ratha which are mentioned in the inscriptions of Northern India[2]. The examination of the records shows that first (Tulāpurusha) was the most popular Mahādāna as it has been frequently referred to in the religious endowment. In this Mahādāna the donor was weighed against gold which was distributed among Brāhmaṇas. Gāhaḍawala kings were much fond of this Mahādāna as it

1. Matya chap. 274–289 : Agni chap. 210 and linga chap. 28 (quoted in कृत्यकल्पतरू—G. O. S. no XCII p. 49).
2. Gahādavāla and Sena records refer to Mahādāna.

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is often mentioned in their records though slightly in a different manner. The epigraphs of Govindchandradeva contain certain words[1] while other records mention Tulāpurusha Mahādāna[2] or Kanaka Tulāpurusha[3] both of which connote the same meaning. The word Tulāpurusha as referred to in the Kalachuri grant of Madhyapradesh is used in the same sense[4]. This kind of gift was not limited to Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesha but epigraphic documents of Bengal[5] and Assam[6] inform the similar practice (Mahādāna) in Eastern India. Two of the Sena records mention the same method of weighing of king's body against gold for dāna. Bilasdevi, the mother of Ballālasena performed the same Tulāpurusha[7] while Lakshmaṇasena is said to have celebrated Kanaka Tulāpurusha Mahādāna[8] exactly in the same manner. The efficacy of such Mahādāna was very high, therefore, it was performed on the specific occasions and also in some holy place (Tīrtha). The Gāhaḍavāla records mention 15th day of bright half of Kartika[9] and Uttar Ayana[10] as proper time for that gift, whereas lunar eclipse[11] has been given second place for *Mahādāna*. It need not be

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1. E. I. Vol. IV p. 118 : I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 11; E. I. Vol. XIII p. 218 E. I. Vol. II p. 362 and I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 132
   हेमात्मतुल्यमनिशं ददता द्विजेभ्यो
2. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 132.
3. E. I. Vol. XV p. 278–86.
4. E. I. Vol. II p. 4 (V. 21)
   महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः
5. Sena inscriptions.
6. यः कामरूप नृपतेर्ज्जयपालदेव नाम्नः,
   तुलापुरुष दातुरचिन्त्यधाम्नः
   हेम्नां शतानि नवनिर्भरमर्थ्यमानो
   नैवाददे दश शतोदय शासनं च (E. I. Vol. XIII p. 295)
7. E. I. Vol XIV p. 157.
8. Ibid Vol. XV p. 284.
9. E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 72; Ibid Vol. IV p. 125.
10. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 11.
11. E. I. Vol. XV p. 280.

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emphasized that the Gāhaḍavālas ruled over Madhyadesha where many Tirthas were situated and hence the king Govindchandra gave Mahādāna at Prayāg[1] and Ayodhyā[2]. His successor Chandradeva is said to have gifted some Mahādāna before the god Ādikeśava at Kāshi[3].

The second important time was of political nature. It is described that Jayachanda gifted Tulāpurusha in the memory of his victory[4] becuaśe it signified royalty[5].

Gosahasradāna also occupied a place among Mahādāna but rarely mentioned in the records of this period. In earlier period Samudra Gupta[6] had given away hundred thousand cows to Brāhmaṇas but in later days most of kings knew nothing about it. Perhaps the Brāhmaṇas did not want it or were apathetic to it. It is a tragedy that dynastic records are silent on this subject except two Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions hailing from Madhyadesha. Govindchandradeva had the opportunity to give this Mahādāna (Gosahasra[7]) and it was also undertaken by Chandradeva who followed his predecessor in this holy act before Ādikeśava[8]. This shows that it was strictly confined to the area of Brāhmanical culture.

The references of Hemāsva and Hemāsvaratha are often found in Sena grants. They are not different from Hiraṇyāsva and Hiraṇyāsvaratha respectively mentioned in the Purāṇas on the basis of etymology. Ballalasena[9] is said to have offered golden horse to the priest on solar eclipse but in the case

1. E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 292.
2. I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 19.
3. I. A. Vol. XVIII, p. 15.
4. E. I. Vol. IV, p. 124–5.
5. Dānakhand of Krityakalpataru) Introd. p. 102. (G. O. S. No. XCII).
6. गोशतसहस्र प्रदायिनः (All. Pill. Ins. C. I. I. Vol. III).
7. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 197.
8. I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 15.
9. सूर्योपरागे दत्त हैमाश्वमहादान
(Naihati grant—E. I. Vol. XIV p. 161)

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of Lakshmaṇasena the horse chariot, made up of gold (Hemasvaratha[1]) was given to donee. This chariot consisted of two wheels and four horses all made of pure gold and its gift was regarded as Mahādāna.

On the evidence of dynastic epigraphs it is difficult to give any explanation for the Mahādāna, where gold was the main object gifted to the Brāhmaṇas. Substancially there was no difference between *Kanaka Tulāpurush* and Hemāsvaratha as the material offered (gold) was the same though in later case the quantity was less. In first case the donor's body was weighed against gold but in later chairot made of gold was donated to Brāhmaṇas. What sanctity was attached to the shape of horse or chariot is unexplanable. The fact was there, but it indicates the orthodoxy of the people in the society. It is also a matter of great surprise why this type of Dāna was not vogue in first half of our period from 700-1200 A. D. On the evidence of different records it may be stated that during 11th and 12th centuries, Mahādānas appear to be popular when kings performed the religious works according to the code of scriptures[2].

V General Procedure of Dāna

The general procedure of making gift involved many religious and ceremonial functions to accomplish the desired goal of the Dāna. The donor after the bath in the river, performed Tarpaṇa, worshipped deity and with Kuśa grass and water in hand declared the subject of gift. The records contain particulars of the donee and information to the state officers regarding the gift which involved complete cessation of king's rights. A more detailed description of the religious procedure is found in the inscriptions than Smṛtis. Generally the donor placing Kuśa grass and water in his hand proclaimed the Dāna which was followed by the utterance of

1. E. I. Vol. XII p. 10.
2. In Dānakhaṇḍa of krityakalpataru (pp. 49–109) Lakshmidhara the minister of Govindachandradeva describes Mahādāna in detail. Some of them were undertaken by Gāhaḍavāla kings.

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the syllable "*Om Swasti*". The description of the process would make a very good case and everybody would appreciate the completeness of the grants. The study of the Gāhadavāla grants gives a vivid picture of the entire procedure undertaken by the donor. The bath in the Gangā or in the holy Tirtha was followed by the worship of the deity. Then the sacrifice and Tarpaṇa of the manes were performed. At last with Kuśa grass and pure water in the right hand the donor pronounces (Sankalpa) the gift to the Brāhmaṇas. The following extracts from epigraphs will make the problem clear :—

(१) विधिवत् स्नात्वा देवमनुज मुनि भूत पितृ गणां स्तर्पयित्वा । वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय । कुशलतापूत करतलोदक पूर्वम्[1] ।

(२) पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन विधिवत् स्नात्वा देव मनुज पितृन संतर्प्य भास्करपूजा पुरः सर ..... भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुज हुत्वा राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे.....
कुशलता पूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्तिवाचन पूर्वम् ।
नाना गोत्रेभ्यः नाना प्रवरेभ्यो नाना
नामभ्य ब्राह्मणेभ्य संकल्पित भूमेः सम्बन्धे
शासनी कृत्य प्रदत्ताः[2]

Beyond Madhyadesha and Bengal the chāhamāna record from Jodhapur states in more clear term the use of sesamum (Tila) and rice (Akshata) along with Kuśa and holy water by the donor on the occasion of Dāna[3]. The sesamum was generally used in *Pitṛi Tarpaṇa* as stated in a record of a Hindu ruler[4] but the word *Tilākshata* (sesamum and rice) of Chāhamāna record makes the question more complex and probably both were used at the time of eclipse.

The Tarpaṇa and worship were very necessary items in the religious procedure of Dāna. The question of *Tarpaṇa* has been discussed by Śankha in chapter 13 where *Tila* and

1. I. A. Vol. XV p. 8.
2. E. I. Vol. IV p. 158.
3. तिलाक्षत कुशाग्र प्रणयिनं दक्षिणकर कृत्वा
Sevadi plate (E.I. Vol. XI p. 310).
4. जले विधिना स्नात्वा देवमनुज पितृन् सदर्भ तिलोदकेन संतर्प्य
(I. A. Vol. XVI)

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Kusha were constituent parts of the function[1]. According to *Prajāpati* (99.) sesamum was very important object and Smṛti writer speaks of four different coloured sesamum which pleases more and more the Manes. The verse runs :–

शुक्ल : कृष्ण : कृष्णातरश्यचतुर्थो जर्तिलस्तिल :
उत्तरोत्तरतःश्राद्धे पितृणां तृप्तिकारकाः ।

Kusha is regarded as pure[2] and hence it was used in the sacrifice. *Gāruḍa purana* further informs that three gods dwell in the Kusha—Brahmā at the root, Viṣṇu in the middle and Śankar at the end, hence its purity is attested by this statement[3]. The similar idea is found in Smṛtis where Kusha was taken holy and necessary in Meditation, sacrifice and donation[4]. A ring like loop object of Kusha was called holy[5]. The references[6] in the epigraphs are significant and are in accordance with the sacred code of Smṛtis. The exact meaning of "Gokarṇa Kushalatāpūta[7], occuring in the Gāhaḍavāla records was not clear to Kielhorn[8] but Hall translated the words in correct manner[9] (Having taken water

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1. विना रौप्यसुवर्णेन विना ताम्र तिलेन वा
विना दर्भेश्च मंत्रैश्च पितृणां नोपतिष्ठते (Śankhalikhita 13/13.)
2. Sat. Brah. 5. 2. 1.
3. Pretakhand 2, 21-22.
4. जपे होमे तथा दाने स्वाध्याये पितृतर्पणे
अशून्यं तुकरं कुर्यात् सुवर्णरजतैः कुशैः (Smrti Chandrika I p. 108)
5. Samkha Smṛti 12/4 कुशमय्यामासीनः कुशोत्तरीयवान्कुशपवित्रपाणिः
प्राङ्मुख सूर्याभिमुखो वाऽक्षमालामुपादाय देवताध्यायी जपं कुर्यात्
Skanka Purana (प्रभासखण्ड) says that strainght darbhas are used in giving gifts, Japa and Homa. Top is devine and root is for Pitṛi rites.
Alberuni has a similar statement to make. He says that on the ceremonial occasion the boy was presented with a seal ring of certain grass–Dārbha which was worn in the right hand. It was called पवित्र (Sachau-Vol. II p. 130)
6. I. A. Vol. XVI p. 208 कुशलतापूत करतलोरक पूर्वम्
7. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 159; I. A. Vol. XV p. 8-10.
8. I. A. Vol. XV p. 10 foot note.
9. J. A. S. B. Vol. XXVII p. 232 :
उद्धृत्य दक्षिणेहस्ते जलं गोकर्णवत्कृते (आचारमयूख)

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in his palm purified by Kusha folding it into the form of cow's ear). In my opinion "*Kushalatāpūta*" has been used as an adjective of "*Udaka*" or *Karatalodaka* because we find 'Kushaputen and Hastodakena[1]' in the same context. Therefore it becomes obligatory on the part of donor to fold the palm to look like cow's ear and the pure water was poured while Kusha was present in the hand[2].

In the above extracts some words refer to the worship showing that the particular donor was the worshipper of Śiva, Viṣṇu or Sūrya according to his own faith in the deity. There was the complete harmony among all the sects, hence we have such references of deities in the inscriptions at one and the same place.

VI Laudatory and imprecatory Verses

The study of copper plate inscriptions and other type of grants reveals a close connection between Smṛti writers and the composer of epigraphic records of our age. This is shown by the fact that most of the benedictory and imprecatory stanzas in the grants were borrowed from Smrities, contemporary works and Purāṇas. In the earlier records verses lauding gifts and deprecating its resumption are few but in later epigraphs the numbers of such verses have gone up to sixteen[3] during 11th and 12th century A. D. These laudatory and imprecatory stanzas were common in northern Indian inscriptions of early mediaeval period. They are said to have been taken from Vyas[4] but uptil now they have

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1. I. A. Vol. XIV p. 103 कुशपूतेन हस्तोदकेन
2. हस्तौ कृत्वा सुसंयुक्तौ पूरयित्वा जलेन च
   गोशृङ्गमात्र मुद्धृत्य जलमध्ये जलं क्षिपेत् (Yama 93)
   भवानी पतिमभ्यर्च्य 'वासुदेवस्य पूजांविधाय' and भास्कर पूजा
3. Grant of Kalachuri Yasaḥkarṇadeva (E. I. Vol. XII p. 205) and Chāhamāna resord of Ratnapāla has fifteen stanzas (Ibid Vol. XI p. 312)
4. In the earlier records (5th century and 6th century A. D.) we find defferent kinds of expressions in connection with benedictory and imprecatory verses. The Baigrama inscrip-

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not been identified in *Mahābhārata*. It is curious to note that the stanzas beginning with बहुभिर्वसुधादत्ता, स्वदत्ता परदत्तां वा correspond to the verses of *Bṛihaspati Smṛti* (26, 28, 30, 32, 33, and 39).

Difficulty lies in tracing the original of these verses but words like उक्तच[1], पौराणिक श्लोका[2], तथाचोक्तं[3] धर्म शास्त्र or भवंति चात्र धर्मानुशासिनः[4] श्लोका : are common in the official documents which lead us to no difinite conclusion about the particular source.

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tion (dated 128 G. E.) connects those verses with Vedavyas— उक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यास महात्मना (E. I. Vol. XXI p. 82). Pālādapur record (dated 159 G. E.) repeats the same उक्तञ्च भगवता व्यासेन (Ibid Vol. XX p. 63. E. I. Vol. XV p. 139) The same is the case of Gunaighar inscription of Vainyagupta (dated 188 G. E.) It states in the following words — भगवता पराशरात्मजेन वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन गीताश्लोका : भवन्ति "(I. H. Q. Vol. VI, p. 62) i. e. connecting the imprecatory verses with Vyās. Damodarpur copper plate record (dated 224 G. E.) speaks of as "अपि च भूमिदान सम्बन्धाः श्लोका भवन्ति" (E. I. Vol. XV p. 142) and then follows the, 'स्वदत्तां परदत्तां' or 'षष्टिवर्ष सहस्राणि' or बहुभिर्वसुधादत्ता. Thus it is difficult to associate these laudatory and imprecatory with any dharmaśāstra writer. This is supported by the evidence of Faridpur grant of Dharmaditya (I. A. Vol. 39, 1910 p. 195) which simply says "भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः" or by another grant (Ibid p. 200)— "भवन्ति चात्र धर्माशास्त्र श्लोकानि" The copper plate inscription of Gopachandra says that it is "भूमिदानापहरण प्रतिपालगुणदोष व्यञ्जका आर्ष श्लोका" (E. I. Vol. XXII p. 159). So it may be stated that earlier records are not unanimous on the point. भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन is mentioned in kalachuri records. (C. I. I. Vol. IV p. 77). Vedavyas (4, 15) clearly states दानधर्मं प्रवक्ष्यामि यथा व्यासेन भाषितम्. It points out indirectly that the verses in questions might have some association with Vyas.

1. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 14.
2. Kamauli grants of the Gāhadavālas (E. I. Vol. IV. p. 97)
3. Record of Mahabhava gupta (E. I. Vol. IV p. 259)
4. Pāla and Sena records (E. I. Vol. XIV; I. A. Vol. XV p. 306 I. A. Vol XXI p. 256; Vol. XXI p. 219)

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We find different expressions[1] but no where Vyās or *Mahābhārata* has been referred to as in C. I. I. Vol. III. Hemādri attributes most of the verses to various purāṇas[2] which were composed by Vyās, hence some connection may be established with Vyās and the verses.

A Verse in Sahet Mahet inscription[3] of Gāhaḍvāla ruler has been quoted by Viśwarūpa on yagnavalkaya (1, 316). The same stanza is also found in *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (5, 45) and this is ascribed to Vyās in a record of this period[4]. Similarly the following Verse,

भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति भूमिं यश्च प्रयच्छति
उभौ तौ पुण्य कर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ

found in a Gāhaḍavāla record[5] is attributed to Bṛihaspati[6]. It may briefly be stated that some stanzas are of unknown authorship, probably have been handed down by tradition. The following two verses are more common and often occuring in the inscriptions and Smṛtis.[7]

बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्॥
षष्टिवर्ष सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमंन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्॥

The following verses of the Gāhaḍavāla and kalachuri record are quite different from the stanzas of Purāṇas and Smṛtis[8].

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 145 एतादृशे मुनिवचनानि भवन्ति
2. Dānakhanda p. 495-510
3. E. I. Vol XII p. 24
   षष्टिवर्ष सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः।
   आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्॥
4. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X. p. 265
5. E. I. Vol. XII p. 24
6. Bṛihaspati Smṛti p. 32
7. E. I. Vol. IV p. 133
   Ibid Vol. XII p. 205; Vol. XI p. 312; Vol. XII p. 24; Bṛihaspati Smṛiti V. 29 (latter half) Visvarupa on yag I. p. 316
8. Kane — History of Darmasastra, Vol. II pt. II appendix p. 1271-77

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भूमिदानस्य यः कर्त्ता यश्च कारयिता शुचिः ।
पालकाश्चानुमन्ता च स्वर्गं गच्छति मानवः ।।
सर्वानेतान्भाविनो पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयोभूमो याचते रामभद्रः
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुः नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनियो
भयद्भिः (रीती)[1]

The main purpose of imprecatory verse was to produce fear of hell in the mind of the successor of the donor who intended to confiscate the land. The same notion is contained in the Monghyr grant of Nārāyanapāla[2] and Saktipur record of Lakshamanasena[3].

In Garha plate of Chandela king Trailokyavarman the same idea is echoed. It has been stated that king and officers should forgo all their respective rights and future monarchs should protect the grant and it ought not to be wrested or seized. The following lines contain the above idea—राज राजपुरुषादिभिः स्वं स्वमाभाव्यं परिहर्त्तव्यं इदं च अस्मद् दानं अनाच्छेद्यं अनाहार्यं च इति[4]. ।

It has been suggested in another record that the person resuming it or abetting the destruction would dwell in hell[5]. A few verses[6] common in Kalachuri[7] and Gāhadavāla[8]

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1. E,I.Vol.IV. p. 170; Vol.III p. 49 (lines 25-26) Vol XII p. 213
2. I. A. Vol. XV p. 306
   ततो भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानु मन्तव्यं भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिः ।
   भूमदनि फल गौरवादपहरणे च महानरक पात—
   भयाद्दानमिदमनुमोद्य पालनीयं प्रतिवासिभिः ।।
   (E. I. XXI p. 219)
3. नृपतिभिः अपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालनेधर्मगौरवात्
   भूमिदानफल गौरवादपहरणे महानरकपात भयात् च दानं इदं अनुमोद्य पालनीयम्
   (I. A. XXI p. 256)
4. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 14 and 275.
5. नरकानि निवर्त्तन्ते यावत् चन्द्रदिवाकरौ ।
   (J. B. O. R. S. Vol. II p. 407) carries the same sense.
6. सुवर्णमेकं गामेकाँ भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं, हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूत संप्रवम् ।
7. E. I. Vol. XII. p. 214; Vol, II p. 363; Vol. IV. p. 113; Vol. IX p. 305 Vol. XI: p. 145.
8. E. I. Vol. IV p. 133; Vol. XVIII p. 222.

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grants and occuring in Smṛti[1] go to confirm the earlier view of borrowing verses from Dharmaśāstra literature into epigraphic documents. The whole discussion points out the real aim of the verses which were written to warn the progeny of the donor of commiting the sin in the case he obstructs the gift and confiscates the land. The sin was of such a grave type that no purification was possible even by performing 'Horse sacrifice orGosahasra dāna' as stated by smriti writers[2].

The above imprecatory verse has been quoted from Bṛihaspati[3] by the composer of grants[4]. Thus it is clear that benedictive and imprecatory stanzas occuring at the end of grants are not composition of the drafters of the grants but borrowed from either Purāṇa or Smṛti.

Inspite of such imprecation there is an instance of confiscation of gift by the successor of a former king of kashmir. *Rājatarangini* (V. 166–170) describes the state of affairs in the reign of king Śankaravarman who deprived temples of all the properties for replenishing his treasury emptied by his vices[5]. Another ruler viz. Jayānida also followed the same example[6]. However, these literary references are not supported by epigraphic evidences of the mediaeval age, but it cannot be ignored for the want of such proofs.

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1. Bṛihaspati Smṛti 38.
2. वापी कूप सहस्रेण, अश्वमेधशतेन च ।
   गवां कोटि प्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति ।।
   Bṛihaspati Smṛti 38.
3. Ibid.
4. E. I. Vol. IV p. 133; Vol. VII p. 93 and 105.
5. आरब्धैर्व्यसनैर्भूम्ना क्षीणकोशाः क्षणे क्षणे ।
   देवादीनां स सर्वस्वं जहारायास युक्तिभिः ।।
   Raj. Taranga 5, 170
6. Rājatarangiṇi Tarang IV, 638-9.

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(C) Religious Rites, Ceremonies, Festivals and Tirtha.

The distinctive feature of the orthodox Hindu society is marked by the series of semi-religious rites, performed in accordance with Śrûti and Smṛti. Among the domestic rites Dharma Śāstra writers[1] enjoin the performance of *Pañcha Mahayajña* i. e. five great sacrifices namely (1) *Devayajña* (offering to gods), (2) *Pitri Yajña* (Śrādha), (3) *Bhūta Yajña* (offering of bali), (4) Brahma Yajña (studying Veda) and (5) *Manusya Yajña* (Entertainment of guests). Daksha is of the view that the Gṛihstha must perform it and thereby gain merit which can not be obtained by getting it performed by others on one's behalf[2]. The same (*Pañch Mahayajñas*) have been mentioned in a record of Gurjara king Jayabhatta II (8th century A. D.) though in a different manner[3]. However people were performing one or another Yajña on certain occasion. Homa and Tarpaṇa were necessary at the time of donation by the king or some other donor[4]. Manu lays emphasis on *Tarpaṇa* of gods, sages and Manes[5]. This act brought prosperity to the people otherwise might bring sin to them[6]. *Homa* was equally necessary for Gṛihastha and once he kindles fire (perform Agnihotra) he has not to leave the boundary or if he dees it he must ask his wife to accompany[7]. The epigraphs refer to such practices as being observed both by king and the Brāhmaṇa but Viṣṇu prescribes the five sacrifices for Śūdra also[8].

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1. Sat. Brah. XI, 5,6,1. पञ्चैव महायज्ञ
2. Daksha II, 27-28.
   स्वयं होमो विधीयते । स्वयं होमे फलं यत्स्यान्नतदन्येन जायते ।
3. E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 152.
   वलि चरू वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि पंच (विम्हा) यज्ञादिक्रियोत्स ।
   पंचमहायज्ञ प्रवर्त्तनाय (I. H. Q. XXIII p. 239.)
4. Details under procedure of Dāna
5. Manu II, 176.
6. Gobhil Smṛti II, 22.
7. Laghu Aśvalāyana I, 69.
   यत्र तिष्ठति वै भर्या तत्र होमो विधीयते ।
8. पञ्चयज्ञ विधानंतु शूद्रस्यापि विधीयते (Laghu Viṣṇu Smṛti 5/9)

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Another characteristic feature of Hinduism of our period was the popularity of *Vrata*. Matters on Hindu rites and customs are strictly the domain of Smṛti and Dharmaśāstra such as *Śrādaha, Vrata, Dāna Tirtha* etc. were incorporated in Purāṇās not later than 4th C. A. D. (Hazra — Pauranic records of Hindu rites and customs P. 6.). The theory and advocacy of *Vrata* was a special feature of the Purāṇas. *Vrata* was not the same for all times to come, but different periods had separate *Vratas*. They offered opportunities for individuals of both the sexes to go a course of religious life characterised by austerities and self-denial. *Vratas* have powerful appeal to popular mind but we do not find any such reference to their popularity in the dynastic inscriptions. In ordinary course of life *Vrata* needs fasting which was also a source for gaining salvation. The fast was observed in all *Vratas* throughout year round and it was associated with certain kind of worship of the deity. In the records of this period, kings are known to have fasted unto death for *Moksha*[1]. The study of the records reveals the names of most important *Vratas* which were also regarded as suitable time for donations. Chāhamāna inscription speaks of Ekadasi[2] falling on 11th day of bright half of Kartika month (when god is supposed to be active after rains) Corresponding to it in importance is 'Hari Śayani Ekadasi' which falls on 11th day of bright half of Āṣādha every year. The people have to observe fast on that day and take cereals on the next day, i. e. Dwādasi called Vāmana or Govinda[3] occuring after Hari Śayani. The *Vratas* on bright fortnight (Purnima) and dark fortnight (Amā) were also observed when there were eclipses which were taken holy as occasions for *Dāna*.

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1. गंगाद्वारं ततोगत्वा वर्षं अष्टादशंस्थितः ।
   अन्ते चानसनं कृत्वा स्वर्गं लोकं समागतः ।
   (Pratīhāra record E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96)
   E. I. Vol. XI p. 191 (record of Mahāśivagupta)
   E. I. Vol. V. p. 108.
2. देवोस्थापनी पर्व्वणि (E. I. Vol. XIII p. 211)
3. E. I. Vol. IV (Kamauli grants)

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Similar types of *Vratas* have been mentioned by Alberuni who saw people fasting and observing some rites during 11th century A. D. In the Smṛti like Devala and Bṛihatayama the *Chāndrāyaṇa Vrata*, is mentioned for purifying the one's own body from some kind of sin[1]. Unfortunately no reference to such *Vrata* is found in official records as it was a kind of *Prāyaschit* which was a subject for Smṛtis[2] to deal with and therefore it was beyond the scope of land grants to consider it. Moreover our land grants mention some social or religious activities of the people in connection with Dāna otherwise the entire discussion is beyond the perview of the official documents.

Besides *Vratas* some kind of festivals (*Parva*) also have been referred to in the inscriptions as the proper occasions of gifts. Rāma Naumi (or चत्र महानवमी)[3] and Śivarātri[4] are such *Parvas* when people observed fast and worshipped the particular deities (Rāma and Śiva). In the Chāhamāna record[5] it is definitely mentioned that nobody was allowed to kill any animal on Śivarātrī day ; i. e. the people were forced to maintain purity of heart and purity of action. The most important ceremony or festival was known as Rathayātra or Devayātrā[6] of the deity in the early mediaeval period. Good many epigraphs of different dynasties record the grant to meet the expenses of this festive occasion (ceremony) which was very popular in Rājaputānā and neighbouring regions. Fa Hien (4th C. A. D.) stated that Pataliputra celebrated *Rathayātra* where Buddha icon was carried out.

In the chāhamānā record we have a lengthy description of the procession of deity (Devayātrā) commencing on a

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1. वलान्म्लेच्छैस्तु योनीतस्तस्य शुद्धिस्तु की दृशी ।
   सम्वत्सरोषिते शूद्रे शुद्धिश्चान्द्रायणेन तु ॥
   Devala Smṛti 26; Bṛihatayama 2,4.
2. Kane — History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. IV pp. 61-70.
3. E. I. Vol. XIV p. 188.
4. Ibid Vol. XI p. 39-41.
5. Ibid.
6. E. I. Vol, XI p. 33. (देवयात्रा निमित्तं प्रदत्त द्रा ४)

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particular occasion. The epigraph says[1] that the people of the province participated in this celebration and courtesans attached to the temple of gods also attended Devayātrā with fine dress and music. Another document from Mārwar mentions the festival of Rathyātrā during 12th century A. D.[2] The second epigraph records the grant of four villages[3] for the particular celebration called *Parvayātrā* near Puṣkar Tīrtha. The deity was taken out from the temple and was placed in a chariot for the Yātrā procession. Anjaneri plate from Madhya Pradesh tells us that people paid a silver coin on such occasions[4]. Hence it was famous and recorded as 'Ratha or Deva or Parva Yātrā' in different inscriptions.

In Rājaputānā it was so popular that even Jains took out their deities in the similar procession. In Lalrai grant of the Chāhamāna family it is stated that some barley corn were gifted for celebrating that festive work–Devayātrā of Sānti-nāth[5] in the year 1170 A. D. Similar cash donation is recorded-out of 40 Dramma deposited for the festival of the deity[6].

The study of the royal grants points out that the Hindu function of *Devayātrā* was most pompous and attractive, hence

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1. E. I. Vol. XI p. 28 and 39.
   यत्र दिने यत्र देवे यात्रा भवति तथापर समस्तदेवानां
   सत्क प्रमादा कुलैः सर्वैः साकल्पैः सुवस्त्रैः……
   वाद्यनृत्य गानादि विधिना यात्रा कर्तव्या
2. E. I. Vol. XI p. 41.
   समए रथयात्रां आगतेन
3. E. I. Vol. II p. 124.
   ग्रामश्चतुरः……श्री हर्षदेवाय पुण्येहनि श्रीमत्पुष्कर तीर्थे स्नात्वा स्नान-
   नार्च्चन विलेपन उपहारधूप दीप पर्व्वयात्रोत्सवार्थमां ।
4. C. I. I. Vol. IV p. 150.
   प्रत्येकं रूपकः देवस्य यात्रोत्सवे दातव्यम्
5. E. I. Vol. XI p. 51.
   जवा से ४ गुजरीयात्रा निमित्तं श्री शान्तिनाथ देवस्य दत्ता पुण्याय
   श्री शान्तिनाथ देवयात्रा निमित्तं …… जवादानं (Ibid p. 50)
6. E. I. Vol. XI p. 57 (Bhinamal inscription)
   जगत्स्वामिन देवीय भाण्डागारे क्षेपित द्र ४० आश्विन यात्रायां

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it influenced the people of other faiths. Jains living in Rājaputānā changed their mind and initiated similar procession (as they called it) of their deities.

We have no epigraphic evidence of similar following in Eastern India and when this idea of *Rathayātrā* travelled to that side is difficult to say. In modern days we find that similar *Rathayātrā* procession is arranged for god Jagannātha of Puri. It may be suggested that Jains when travelled to Orissa to visit Jain caves near Bhuvaneśwara imparted the idea of Devayātrā to the people of that area. In the present state of our knowledge it may be stated that due to the Brahmanical influence probably this ceremony was also introduced in the other faiths during 11th and 12th centuries A. D.[1]. If Jagannātha temple is taken as Buddhist temple[2] it appears that the followers of Buddhism started the *Rathyātrā* festival in imitation of Hindu or Jain festivals. By that time Buddhists were losing their grounds and hence imitation of *Devayātrā* ceremony in Vajrayāna was a natural corollary.

The other important function connected with the religious activity of the people was the annual lamp festival[3] in honour of the gods. It was common to all sects, but we have an inscriptional evidence of this function in the temple of Jain

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1. यात्रोत्सवः सदाकार्यं । प्रति सम्वत्सरेष्वपि (ब्रह्मपुराण)
   Quoted in a work of 11th cent. A. D. namely Rajadharmakanda (G. O. S. no. C. p. 178)
2. The close study of the sculptures in tho attached shrines all round the deul proves that the original images installed in them were deities of Vajrayāna whose places were taken by Hindu gods after the removal of the Buddistic images. The Writer has personally examined them very carefully and therefore it is suggested that Jagannatha temple was a Buddhist shrine.
3. E. I. Vol. XI p. 55.
   सं० १२६८ वर्षे दीपोत्सवदिने अभिनव निष्पन्नं प्रेक्षामध्य मण्डपे श्री पूर्णदेव सूरि शिष्यैः.....प्रतिष्ठा कार्ये कते ।

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Tīrthankara Pārśwanātha. On that occassion Jains had dramatic performance which might be the part of the whole ceremony. Though such reference are not many, but it may be presumed that people in general held such function on the annual day.

In early mediaeval priod the religious rites and gifts were made at Sacred places (Tirtha) which attracted people from distant parts of India. Purāṇas mention Kāshi, Prayāga and Gayā as Tristhalī. These places confer enexhaustible reward where gift is made according to one's ability. Kurukshetra, Mathura and Puśakara also have been mentioned among Tīrtha in Dharmaśāstra literature. The records of this period mention *Tirtha* in connection with grants or as a place of salvation. Thus *Tirthas* were proper place for all kinds of religious acts.

Karnataka incriptions of 11th cent. A. D. mention Vārāṇasi, Kurukshetra, Prayāg and Gayā as famous Tirthas[1].

Such reference of Tīrtha is found in the grant of Vimala Śiva, who was the religious preceptor of Kalachuri king Jaya Simha. It is stated that in year 1174 A. D. the donor constructed a Śiva temple having performed religious rites and paid off debts of Devas at Prabhāsa, Gokarṇa and Gayā Tīrthas[2]. In Madhyadesa most of the Tīrthas were situated on the banks of the Gangā and the Saryū. Hence kings in old age retired to the bank of the Gangā for salvation[3]. A certain king

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1. E. I. Vol. XVI p. 67; Vol. XVIII p. 179.
   इदं काडातं वाराणसी कुरुक्षेत्र, प्रयागेयार्ध्य ।
   तीर्थं गंगे गयामेम्व महापुण्य तीर्थं ॥
2. E. I. Vol. XXV p. 317.
   प्रभास गोकर्ण गयादि तीर्थेष्वानृण्यमापद्य सुरादि वर्ये
3. Chandela king Dhanga is reported to have entered beatitude by abandoning his body in the water of Ganga and the Jamuna (E. I. Vol. I pp. 136 and 146).
   रुद्र मुद्रित लोचनः सहृदये ध्यायञ्जपाञ्जान्हवी ।
   कालिन्द्योः सलिले कलेवर परित्यागादगाच्चिर्वृतिम् ॥

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named Jhola left the bliss of his entire state and resided on the bank of the Gangā[1].

This idea was borrowed from Dharmāśāstra[2] and therefore chedi king Gāngeyadeva went to Prayāga for salvation of his own self[3]. The significance of the sanctity of Prayāga becomes more clear when we study religious literature of the period[4]. The Purāṇas allow even religious suicide at Prayāga for *moksha*[5].

Similar case is cited in Apsad record mentioning the suicide of the ancestor of Ādityasena at Prayag[6]. In Gāhaḍavāla records also frequent mention of Prayāga and Kashī as place of Dāna and piligrimage is worth noticing[7]. The rulers were so much attached to Kāshī that muslim historian called Jayachandra as king of Banaras[8], instead of ruler of Kānyakubja. Such is the case of his predecessor Govinda Chandra deva who has been described as protector of Vārāṇasī[9]. His successor king Chandradeva was known as protector of Kāshī, Kūsika, (Kanauj), Uttar Kosala (Ayodhyā) and Indraprantha (Indrasthasta)[10] (Old Delhi). Ayodhya has been

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1. F. I. Vol. XVIII p. 96.
   येन राज्यसुखं भुक्त्वा भागीरथ्यां कृता गतिः
2. Padma Purana (Sṛiṣthi Khanda 60/657)
3. E. I. Vol. II p. 4 (V. 12)
   प्राप्ते प्रयाग वटमूल विवेशवन्धौ ।
   सार्धं शतेन गृहिणिभिरमुत्र मुक्तिम् ॥
4. Kane—Histrory of Dharmaśāsta Vol. IV 596, 600, 697,
5. Matsya 106, Kurma 1, 38
   J. of U. P. Hist. Society Vol X p. 65 H.
6. C. I. I. Vol. III no 42.
7. E. I. Vol. IV p. 122 (Veni = Prayāga)
   Ibid Vol. VIII p. 154
   (श्री मद् वाराणस्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा)
8. Elliot — Hist. of India Vol. II pp. 223 250
9. E. I. Vol. IX p. 32
   (वाराणसी भुवन रक्षण दक्ष एको)
10. E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 72 : I. A. Vol. XV p. 7.
    तीर्थानि काशी कुशिकोत्तर कोशल इन्द्रस्थानीय कानि परिपालयताभिगम्य

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referred to in many records of Gāhaḍavāla kings and it has been described as gate of heaven, situated on the bank of Saryu[1]. One holy place namely Puṣakar was located in Rājaputānā where king Sinharaja donate four villages[2]. Several other kings have uniformly made claim to visit Tīrtha and protect it for its sanctity[3]. Alberuni confirms the same statement and has stated that the pilgrimage was not obligatory. Kings visited the places, worshipped and gave alms to Brāhmaṇas and priests. In his days people used to visit[4] Kāshī, Pukar (correct form is Puṣkar), Thāneswar, Mathura. Thus we learn that most important places of pilgrimage were situated in Madhyadesha — such as Prayāga, Kāshī and Ayodhyā. Gayā was not less important and was included in Tristhali. Bengal was beyond the limit of Vedic cultural area from very ancient period, and in the age of Pālas it was the central portion of Buddhism i. e. stronghold of Vajrayāna. A reference of Tīrtha is astonishing but not wanting in the Pāla records. Pālas are said to have built many temples of Hindu deities one at Gayā[5]. It is stated that Dharmapāla went to some Tīrtha during the course of his campaign. Many of his records mention the same following verse[6].

केदारे विधिनोपयुक्त पयसां गंगा समेताम्बुधौ
गोकर्णादिपु चाप्यनुष्ठितवतां तीर्थेपु धर्म्याः क्रियाः

This shows that Dharmapāla visited the *Tirthas* namely Kedāra, Gangāsāgar and Gokarṇa. Kielhorn wrongly took Kedāra, as the holy place where ocean is joined by the Ganga and describes the king who also performed holy rites at

1. आश्विन वदी १५ रवौ सूर्योपराग पर्वणि जनित सरयू घर्घरा धमर्षणे स्वर्ग द्वार नाम्नि तीर्थे स्नात्वा (E. I. Vol. XIV. p. 193; I. A. Vol. XV p. 6)
2. E. I. Vol. II p. 129.
   ग्रामश्चतुरः.....श्री हर्षदेवाय पुण्येहनि पुष्कर तीर्थे स्नात्वा
3. E. I. Vol. IX p. 304, I. A. Vol. XVIII p. 11-13.
4. Sachau–Vol. II p. 147.
5. I. A. Vol XVI p. 64
6. Khalīmpur grant (E. I. Vol. IV p. 243).
   Nālandā plate (Ibid XVII p. 31).
   Monghyr record (Ibid XVIII p. 305; I. A. Vol. XXI p. 255).

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Gokarṇa. The learned scholar has missed the geographical situation of different Tirthas. Kedāra is located in the Himālayas and not on the junction of the Ganga and sea in the Bay of Bengal. That place is famous as Gangasāgara in modern days and still a centre of pilgrimage. The situation of kedāra is confirmed by Vedavyās who locates this near mouth of Ganga—(*Gangādwāra*) i. e. near Gangotri[1]. Therefore the topography of Kedāra Tīrtha mentioned in Pāla records is definite. In modern days special sanctity is attatched to the water of Gangāsāgar which is carried to Kedāra and Badrināth by hilly priests. Gokarṇa Tīrtha is situated in north Kanāra district of Bombay Presidency. Though it is a place of pilgrimage in modern days, but the description of Monghyr grant appears to be imaginary. It was outside the boundary of Pāla empire and in the age of the triangular fight (the Pālas, the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas) it was not possible for Dharmapāla to visit Gokarṇa located in Bombay Presidency. Sena Kings fixed sacrificial pillars (Yajña Sthambha) at Kashi and Prayāga[2].

There are other reference of the kings going on pilgrimage[3] to *Tirthas* like Kurukshetra[4], Prabhās, Gayā[5] and Kālākāleśwar[6] and offering lands and money on those holy places. Among them Gayā was most important Tīrtha frequently mentioned in Purāṇas and Smṛtis[7]. Writers on Dharma-Śāstra favoured pilgrimage and prescribe that no money was to be demanded from the pilgrims by the ferrymen. *Rājatarangini* refers to a

1. गंगा द्वारं च केदारं संनिहत्य तथैव च ।
   एतानि सर्व तीर्थानि कृत्वा पापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ (Vedavyās 4/14)
   Kūrma 1, 34. Matsya Purāṇa 100, 54.
   Padma Purāṇa V, 60, 120 mention the same thing.
   सर्वत्र सुलभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु दुर्लभा गङ्गा द्वारे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागर संगमे ।
2. E. I. Vol. XXX p. 28; XXXI p. 101; XXXIII p. 316.
3. I. A. Vol. XIX p. 218.
4. A. S. I. A. R. 1902-3 p. 256.
5. E. I. Vol. XXV p. 317.
6. Ibid Vol. XIX p. 71.
7. Attri 55; Śankha 14, 27 and Likhita 12,13.

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tax imposed by the king on Kashmiris who went to Gaya[1] on pilgrimage and for Śrāddha.

Even the west part of the Punjab, Multān was the noted place where inhabitants from other parts of India went on pilgrimage though the temple was ruined. Muslim writers say that they carry money, precious stones and all sorts of perfumes to fulfil their vows. The great part of the revenue of the king of Multān was derived from the rich presents brought to the idol by pilgrims[2]. Poet Gangādhara refers to Purusottama tirtha (Jaganātha Puri) in Eastern India.[3]

In short it may be stated that the records of the period under review have referred to various *tirthas* where grants were donated or religious rites were performed. It is still strange that kings went to the Tirthas for gaining salvation by a method which was different from the normal procedure i. e. religious suicide was done at the Tirthas.

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1. Raj. Taranga VI 254 and VII, 1008
   काश्मीरिकाणां यः श्राद्ध शुक्लोच्छेत्ता गयान्तरे
2. Almasudi's statement on Multan — Elliot Hist. Vol. I p. 82-83. Sachau Vol. II p. 148.
3. E. I. Vol II p. 330 (Govindapur inscription).

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CHAPTER XI

Buddhism in early Mediaeval period.

This fact has been over emphasised that after 7th century A. D. heterodox faiths and the religious practices were current in Northern India and had deep root in the hearts of the people. The mystic way of life was common to all sects. To common man the religion consisted of the beliefs in innumerable deities and their worship. Muttering of mystic formula (*Mantra*) and the paraphernalia of rites, ceremonies as well as several practices were observed for obtaining *Nirvana*.

Buddhism was the living faith in the earlier period and inspite of state patronage of Hinduism, Buddhism continued to prosper in the Gupta age. The account of Fahien and the sculptures of Sarnath school are the testimony to the fact. After 6th century A. D. the table was turned. The areas of the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh which were definitely Buddhist had slipped back into orthodoxy. On the evidence of Chachnāma it can be stated that Sindh was under the Buddhistic influence and in Bengal, Buddhism (in a new garb) continued to flourish down to the conquest of muslims towards the end of 12th century A. D.

Vajrayāna

The third branch of Buddhism developed out of Mahāyāna and epigraph speaks of Mahāyanists living at Tripuri and Sarnāth.[1]

The new composite religion that developed out of Mahāyāna was named Tantric Buddhism. For the purpose of salvation the new school introduced some elements like *Mantra* and *Dharaṇi* into the province of Tantrayāna. The application of *Mantra* was the introductory stage of Tāntric Buddhism

1. E. I. Vol. XVIII P. 73.

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which unabled a monk to obtain the final bliss technically called '*Mahāsukha*, *Vajra or Sahaja*' in the different stage of Tantrayāna. This form of Tantricism with its esoteric nature was neither exclusively Buddhist nor Hindu in origin. The study of archaeological materials clearly shows that Vajrayāna (Tantricism) attained its highest position in the period from 900-1200 A. D. which may be called the golden age of Vajrayāna.

It is to be noticed that in the earlier phase of Vajrayāna emphasis was laid on *Mantra, Mudrā* and sexo-yogic practices. The portal of Vajrayāna was flung open to let in the elements of esoterism and all the traditional beliefs in gods, demons and charms. The whole outlook of Buddhism was changed and hence one finds the growth of Vajrayāna system. In the words of Waddell, "Tantric phase developed during 10th Cent. A. D. in Northern India, Kashmīra and Nepal into polydemonist doctrines." The sect with demonical Buddhas which incorporated the Mantrayāna called itself Vajrayāna[1].

Before coming to the description of Vajrayāna, its progress and decline, it is necessary to speak a few words regarding its name, culmination and transformation of the idea of '*Sunyatā*' into '*Vajra*'. *Sunyatā* of Mahayāna which is firm, substancial, indivisible, incapable of being burnt and imperishable was called *Vajra*. This transformation has given the new title of the sect — Vajrayāna.

If one examines the gradual development of Vajrayāna deities, it would be clear that the deitis in Vajrayāna are all manifestations of Sunya. This process of evolution has the following four stages viz (1) Right perception of Sūnyata (2) Connection with germ syllable (3) Conception of icons and (4) External representation of the deity.

शून्यता विभितो बीजं बीजाद्बिम्बं प्रजायते
बिम्बे च न्यास विन्यासौ[2]

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1. Lamaism by Waddell p. 15.
2. Advaya Vajra Sangraha p. 51.

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This was the cause of idolatry in later Buddhism. The supreme deity is known as Vajra-Sattva hence all other gods of this Yāna are marked by a miniature figure of Vajra Sattva in the crest. According to Dr. B. Bhattacharya Vajra[1] Sattva and later gods belonged to a period later than 7th century A. D. Vajra Sattva in Buddhist tantra is conceived exactly in the manner of *Brahma* and in iconography is regarded as priest of five Dhyani Buddhas. The very first thing in Vajrayāna was the introduction of Buddhist pantheon, the concepiion of Ādi Buddha, five Dhyāni Buddhas and their Śaktis along with a number of deities emanating from them. The most flourishing period of Bengal school of sculpture consisted of Vajrayāna images ranging from 10th to 12th centuries A. D. Vajrayāna artists carved out innumerable images of gods that a student of iconography is overwhelmed at their wealth and variety. The images of Ṣadaksari, Lokeśvara, Manjuśri, Tārā, Marichi, five Dhyāni Buddhas, Lokanāth, Vajrapāṇi, Tailokya Vajay[2] etc. etc. point to a higher and extensive state of Vajrayāna. The Buddhist establishments of Odantapuri, Nālandā and Vikramaśīla were famous centres of Vajrayāna before it was finally wiped out on the advent of muslims.

By studying the topography and find spots of inscriptions and images of this period, the fact becomes more clear that Vajrayāna was a popular faith in eastern part of Madhyadesh, Bihar, Bengal, Assam and some regions of Orissa. The official records hailing from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal opens with the prayer 'om Namo Buddhaya[3],' and with laudation of Buddha or Tārā (Female deity of Vajrayāna). The other grants describe the gift in the favour of Lord Buddha[4].

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1. Indian Buddhist iconography Introd. p. XXV.
2. E. Indian school of Med. Sculpture plates II—XXV, XXXVII and XXXIX.
3. E. I. Vol. VI p. 286; E. I. Vol. IX p. 321; E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 136; E. I. Vol. XXI p. 97; I. A. Vol. XV p. 307.
4. I. A. Vol. XXI p. 100; I. A. Vol. XIV p. 168; J. A. S. B. 1909 Vol. 69 p. 66 भगवन्तं बुद्ध भट्टारकम् ।

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Besides epigraphs the artistic specimens of this period (890-1200 A. D.) and the distribution of those icons reveal that people living from Vārāṇasī to East Bengal had deep faith in Vajrayāna. Sādhanamālā refers to four pīṭhas or Sacred posts of Vajrayāna among which kāmākhyā (Assam) and Uḍḍiyāna (Orissa) were important centres where good many Vajrayāna images have been discovered[1].

Vajrayāna deities.

Ādi-Buddha is the highest deity of this Yāna and spiritual father of "Five Dhyani Buddhas." The conception of Ādi-Buddha originated at Nālandā (Centre of Vajrayāna) in the beginning of 10th Cent. A. D. The prelude of a Buddhist record found at Bodha Gayā starts with the homage of Ādi-Buddha[2] and the prayer for Lokeśwar. This inscription supplies us with further information of excavation of a Buddhist cave and installation of Tārā. Here it may be added that rich and extensive pantheon of Vajrayāna was due to the philosophical idea of *Upāya* and *Prajñā*[3] which was quite similar to Śiva and Śakti of Hindus. Tārā of Vajrayāna became synonym of Śakti in later days[4]. Some of the epigraphic and sculptural evidences from Sārnāth prove it to be the important Vajrayāna centre in Uttar Pradesh. The record of Kumāra devi[5], the Gāhaḍavāla queen mentions the installation of Vasudhārā (female deity emanating from Akshobhya) while Mahipāla inscription refers to Buddha image at the same place[6]. Among the specimens from Sarnath the

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1. Indian Buddhist iconogrphy Introd. p. XXVII.
2. I. H. Q. Vol V. p. 18-25.
3. The god was invariably accompanied by the Śakti Tārā who was given separate seat or the same seat in Yab-Yum (embrace).
4. The origin and culture of Tārā I. H. Q. Vol. VIII p. 335.
5. E. I. Vol. IX p. 321.
6. A. S. I. 1903-4 p. 222; I. A. Vol. XIV p. 139.

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images of Lokanāth[1], Nilkaṇṭha[2], Khadiravāni[3] Tārā, Asthabhuja Mārīchi[4] and Sadakshri Mahāvidyā[5] are worth mentioning. Six armed Avalokiteśwar[6] may be added to the list. A few images of this type have been discovered in Central India[7] also.

Nālandā in Bihar was the most famous seat of Vajrayāna from all considerations. Here lived great Buddhist (Tāntric) scholars who propogated Tantrayāna in Nepal and Tibet. The popularity is also proved by the development of plastic art at Nālandā and by the discovery of a number of images of Vajrayāna faith. The inscriptions of Bihar speak of the dedication of Tārā[8] and Avalokiteśwar[9] images during 11th century A. D. Giriyak image inscription of 12th C. A. D. speaks of gift of Khasarapaṇa icon by Sadhu Srikar of Mathura[10]. R. D. Banerji has given a long list of images[11] discovered in the places like Bihar. Nālandā, Bodha Gayā and in several other towns viz. Bogra, Dacca, Rajsahi, Dināj-

1. Indian Buddhist iconography pl. XXII (b).
2. Ibid pl. XXIII (c).
3. Ibid pl. XXXII (d).
4. Ibid XXXI (a) A. S. R. 1903-4 pl. LXII no. 4.
5. Ibid pl. XIX (b).
6. A. S. R. 1903-4 Pl. LXII no. 2.
7. Lokanātha and Sinhanāda from Mahoba (Ind, Budd. Icong. Pl. XX (b).
8. A. S. I. R. 1920-21; J. A. S. B. Vol. VI. p. 105.
9. E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 74.
10. J. A. S. B. Vol. XIX p. 106. Markandeya Pnrāṇa (Ch. 68) describes that those who like to enjoy wealth must seek divine grace and must be themselves Sādhu. (देवतानां प्रसादेन साधु संसेवनेन च). Bengal and Bihar merchant called Sahu — a corrupt form of Sādhu
11. Most of the images bear the Buddhist crced —

    ये धर्म्मा हेतु प्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतोह्यवदत् ।
    तेषां च यो निरोध एवं वादी महाश्रमणः ॥

    hence there is no doubt in their identification, Illustrated. in E. I. school of med. sculp. Plates XXI-XXVI and XXVIII.

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pur etc. situated in Bengal. Besides Buddhist creed ingraved on the pedestal or halo portion, the special characteristics of these images point out to their age and locality. In post-Gupta period some changes in style were brought about by artists of Magadha. They used smooth black stone of Rājamahal quarry. The special features may be enumerated as :— (A) Double lotus seat, (B) Representation of bordered halo, (C) Lotus mark on palm and feet, (D) The special shape of stone called 'Stele' which is only found in the Magadha art or Pāla school during 8th to 12th century A. D. The principle of Sarnath school was at the root of all the artistic specimens. Such incons have been found near Bheraghat of Tārā and Avalokiteswar. Nālandā was flourishing centre of plastic and metallic art. The images of Vajrapāni[1], Manjuvara[2] and Trailokya[3] Vijaya discovered there are noted for plastic carving and Buddha and Tārā are worth mentioning as metallic specimens[4].

Bengal proper (Modern West Bengal and East Pakistan) was the third active area of Vajrayāna. The Pāla rulers were not only active supporters of Buddhism and assumed the title of Parama Saugat, but gifted Agrahāra to Buddhist Vihāras and temple establishments. Installation of Buddha images in the reign of Madanpāla[5] and Surapāla[6] and those of Tārā[7] during the time of Nārāyaṇapāla and Ramapāla have been mentioned in the image inscriptions. The public was not idle in this respect but requested artists for the carving of icons. The icons of Manjuśri and Tārā have been unearthed at Pahāḍpur[8] while innumerable inscribed images of Vajrayāna pantheon have come to light from different places which are exhibited in

1. Indian Buddhist Iconog. Pl. XII (c).
2. Ibid Pl. XV (b).
3. Ibid Pl. XXXIX (c).
4. Patna Museum — Nālandā and Kurkihara Bronzes.
5. A. S. R. Vol. III p. 125.
6. I. H. Q. 1927 p. 586.
7. A. S. R. 1920-21 p. 35; J. A. S. B. Vol. IV 1908 p. 108-9.
8. A. S. Memoir no. 55 Pl. XLIV.

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Indian Museum, Calcutta[1]. Thus there is no doubt that Pāla age was the period of Vajrayāna popularity.

Foundation of Monastery.

The epigraphs of our period supply the detailed information regarding the foundation of monastic establishments by the rulers of different dynasties. Pāla rulers were professed Buddhist, hence they established monasteries in the different parts of the empire. On the evidence of Tāranāth we know that Gopāla I founded Odantapuri Mahāvihāra and his son Dharmapāla established Vikramaśilā institution which is clear from his epithet Vikramaśīladeva. The grant was made to Nālanā Vihara by Devapāla at the request of Javanese king Bālaputradeva[2]. An inscribed clay seal discovered at Pahādapura bears testimony to the erection of Mahāvihāra at Somapura (North Bengal) by Dharmapāla[3]. There was probably another such monastery in Devikot (North Bengal) to which Advayarāja, the great Tāntric scholar and the nun Mekhala are said to have belonged. The existence of some Vihāra is proved by the account of Itsing who spoke of a monastery in Tāmralipti where king used to take procession in honour of the Buddha. These instances go to show that in Bihar and Bengal Buddhism was in ascendancy and majority of people had faith in Vajrayāna. South Kośala was also full of monasteries and thousand monks lived in them. But it is difficult to say whether they had any inclination towards Tantrīcism[4].

Hostile to Hinduism.

At the very start of Vajrayāna movement Buddhists were antagonistic to Hindus to some extent and their scholarship lay in criticising the views of others. Vajrayānists showed indifference and indignation towards Brahmanic religion,

1. (A) Number ranges from 3000-6000.
   (B) E. I. School of Med. Sculp. Pl. I-XVIII.
   (C) Ghosawara Stone Inscription (I. A. Vol. XVI p. 307).
2. Nālandā grant (E. I. Vol. XVII p. 322).
3. Indian Culture Vol. I no. 2.
4. C. I. I. Vol. IV pt I p. CLXI.

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criticised the philosophical principles and humiliated Brahmanic deities during 8th and 9th centuries A. D. There are not many such cases of humiliation in the field of Indian art, but a book named *Śādhanamālā* contains some verses which go to support the above statement. In the following pages some such instances have been quoted which express some kind of jealousy between Buddhists and Hindus. It is wonder why we have no reference in the Hindu text or no artistic specimen showing the retaliatory ideas of Hindus. Lex talionis was not the comman with Hindus of ancient India. Even *Sādhanamālā*– the Vajrayāna text is only work which contains some Sādhāna describing the nature of Humiliation. Considering the entire Vajrayāna pantheon, a few Buddhist icons (pressing down Hindu deities) are not conclusive evidences and no theory can be built up on the basis of these specimens. There was not the aggressive type of hostile attitude. The hostile icons may be 30 p. c. of the whole Buddhistic pantheon, hence nothing can be said definitely on this aspect of religious condition of the period under review.

The Buddhists criticised the Hindu theories of emancipation which is proved by Āryadeva in his book viz "*Cittasodhan-Prakarana*". The passage in question contains a scathing indictment of the Hindu belief that bathing in the Gangā at holy places will not confer any merit and on the other hand proves its futility in forceful language[1].

"A dog swimming in the Gangā is not considered pure, so bathing in holy places is futile for pious man. If the bath can confer merit, the fisherman must be meritorious not to speak of fish or other acquatic animals." Besides this literary criticism Vajrayānists always possessed mean desire to [illegible] Hindu gods as the servants. *Sādhanamālā* mentions many verses describing Brahminic deities as menials — Indra as

1. J. A. S. B. 1898 p. 117.

प्रतरन्नपि गंगायां नैवश्वा शुद्धिमर्हति ।
तस्माद्धर्मार्थियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानं तु निष्फलम् ।
धर्मो यदि भवेत् स्नानात् कैवर्तानां कृतार्थता ।
नक्तन्दिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनां तु का कथा ॥

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umbrella bearer, Viṣṇu as gate keeper and Kārttikeya as commander of army[1] of Buddhist god.

In the same continuation it is said that worshipper of Tārā is destined to conquer death and Hindu gods (Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya etc.) can do no harm[2]. Even worshipper of Vajrayāna goddess Kurukulla keeps Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Rudra and Indra as his servants[3]. Similar case of indignation is contained in the line[4] of the book i. e Buddhist deity tramples Viṣṇu and Lakshmi under the feet. In the next succeeding Sādhanā Vajrayāna deity Bhūtadāmara is described as an expert in destroying the pride of Indra and Brahmā[5].

It is a matter of surprize that above cases lack illustrations except a few fully agreeing with idea of Sādhanā. The female deity Aparājita has been described as humiliating Gaṇesh[6]. In iconography also she is represented trampling Gaṇesha[7]. Another instance is of Bighnāntaka who has the prostrate figure of Gaṇesh under his feet[8]. From Nālandā and Bodhagayā two very artistic images of Trailokya Vajay have been discovered depicting a humiliating scene of Śiva and Pārvati. The deity trampling the head of Mahesh with his left leg while right presses the bosom of Gauri. There is absolutely no

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1. Sādhanamālā (G. O. S. no. XLI) Vol. II no. 260.
   देवेन्द्र छत्रधरो भवन्ति ब्रह्मा च मंत्री ।
   वैमचित्री सैन्यपतिः हरिः प्रतिहारः ॥
2. Sādhanamālā Vol. I p. 214.
3. Ibid p. 350.
4. Ibid Vol. II. साधना no. 263.
   सपत्नीकं विष्णुमालीढ़ पदेनाक्रम्यावस्थितम् ।
5. Sādhanamālā Vol. II no. 264.
   शुक्र ब्रह्म कुबेरादिमदविध्वंस कोविदम् ।
   श्रीभूतदामरं नत्वा लिख्यते तस्य साधनम् ॥
6. Ibid no. 204.
   अपराजिता पीता द्विभुजैक मुखी नाना रत्नोपि शोभिता गणपति समाक्रान्ता ...
7. Indian Buddhist iconography Pl. XLI (d).
   Parṇasavari—sixarmed and three faced goddess pressing the postrate figure of Ganesha (Sadhanamālā pl. XVI. In plate XVIII Ganesha is below the lotusseat not under feet.
8. Ibid p. 143.

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difference between the specimen[1] and the description[2] of the god.

The last scene of hostile feeling of Vajrayānist towards Brahminic sect has been shown by the image of Avalokiteśwar who rides on the shoulders of Lord Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is sitting on his Vāhana Garuḍa while the latter is on the back of lion. The icon is called Hari Hari Hari Vahanodbhava – lokeśwar. The word Hari has been used in the three different meaning — Viṣṇu, Garuḍa and lion. In Sādhanā[3] the deity (Avalokiteswar) is described as represented in icon. This fully agrees with the Lokeśwara image[4] of Nepal where the idea was carried from India. These icons are not habitual but are rare and may be treated as exceptional. In conclusion it may be stated that no specific view can be put forth on the basis of these iconic features.

Toleration in Buddhism.

From 5th century A.D. Purāṇas were advocating the view that all the different deities were manifestations of the same divine Being and this view was respected by many which is evident from the study of the archaeological data. The study of the official records and iconology of Pāla and post-Pāla period reveals that wide and sympathetic toleration was felt by rulers of Brahmanic and Buddhist religions alike. The Hindu kings were not enemical to Vajrayānists and their favour and tolerant attitude were proved beyond doubt. Most of the ardent believer of Buddhism gave donation to Brāhmaṇas according to the Hindu rites. The Pāla rulers selected those occasions for gift which were auspicious to Hindus. Mahipāla granted land on *Ayana – Saṅkrānti* day

1. Indian Buddhist Iconog. Pl. XXXIX (c).
2. Sādhanamālā Vol. II no. 262.
   वामपादाक्रांत महेश्वर मस्तकं दक्षिण पादावष्टब्ध गौरीस्तनं युगलं ।
3. Sādhanamālā Vol. I A 39-40—सिंह गरुड़ विष्णु स्कन्धस्थितं ।
4. Indian Buddhist Iconog. Pl. XXII (a).

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to Krisnaditya Śarman in the honour of Buddha[1]. Another document[2] of the same king speakes of donation after the bath in the Ganga on the occasion of Vaiṣṇava Saṅkranti like Hindus who enjoyed bath in the Ganga on the Saṅkrānti day. Similarly Āmagacchi grant speaks of Param Saugat Vigrahapāla donating land to a Brāhmaṇa of *Sandilya Gotra* on the occasion of lunar eclipse[3]. Param Saugat Nārāyaṇapāla boasted to have built thousand temples[4] of Śiva and donated villages to Pāśupata sect[5] to meet the expense of worship[6] –Pūja, Bali, charu and Sattra and the construction of new temple. Khalimpur grant contains a similar instance of endowment made by ardent Buddhist Parama Saugat Dharmapāla who sanctioned the grant to the priests of the temple of Nara Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu)[7]. Such examples of toleration are also mentioned in the records of different areas. In East Bengal the similar condition prevailed. A Buddhist queen of Khadga family has been described as the worshipper of eight armed Hindu deity[8]. Dacca district grant refers to a gift by Buddhist king Chandradeva in favour of a Brāhmaṇa to increase the merits of his father[9]. An inscription of Central India states that Param Saugata Mahārāja granted land to Brāhmaṇa on Vaiṣṇava Saṅkrānti[10]. This was only possible with a sympathetic view of religious toleration. Pāla rulers had no hostile attitude and their employees were free to offer

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1. Bangad grant (E. I. Vol. XIX p. 324).
2. Belwa grant (E. I. Vol. XXIX p. 7).
3. I. A. Vol. XXI p. 97 line 40.
4. महाराजाधिराज श्री नारायणपालदेवेन स्वयं कारित सहस्रायतनस्य त च प्रतिष्ठापितस्य भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य et.
   (Monghyr grant I. A XV p. 306)
5. भगवतः शिवभट्टारकस्य पाशुपत आचार्य परिषदश्च ।
6. Bhagalpur grant (I. A. Vol. XV p. 306-9).
7. E. I. Vol. IV p. 247.
8. E. I. Vol. XVII p. 357.
9. E. I. Vol. XII p. 137.
10. Ibid Vol XIV p. 325.

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Vedic sacrifices[1]. Even the king Mahipāla granted land for Brahmanical learning[2]. His gift was for reading *Mahābhārata* to his queen[3] by the Brāhmaṇas. There was no difference in the life of lay worshipper in Buddhism and Hinduism during early mediaeval period. In Nepal Buddhist monk leads a life of Grihastha.

The private individual also came forward with such donations. In the reign of Jayapāla a person dedicated to Viṣṇu temple[4]; another built a grand temple of Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) and set apart 7 droṇas of land for the worship[5]. Such instances can be multiplied to show that Buddhist sect during Pāla regime was influenced by Hindu Dharma and consequently Pāla kings began to appreciate Hindu system of grant and entertain similar religious ideas such as the bath in the Ganga Tīrthayātrā[6] and festivals[7].

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1. E. I. Vol. II p. 160.
2. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX p. 68.
3. Ibid and E. I. Vol. VIII p. 18 (apped. B.).
4. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX p. 190.
5. E. I. Vol. XIII p. 285.
6. The pāla grants inform about the procedure of Dāna which was done after bath in the Ganga on some proper occasion with other ceremonies. The belief in Hindu Tirtha was endorsed by Dharmapāla who was a staunch Buddhist by faith. The king made pilgrimage to Kedar, Ganga Sagar and probably Gokarna to perform holy rites.

   केदार विधिनोपयुक्तपयसां गंगासमेताम्बुधौ ।
   गोकर्णादिषु चाप्यनुष्ठितवतां तीर्थेषु धर्म्याःक्रियाः ॥

   (E I. Vol. XVII p. 31; Vol. IV p. 243; I. A. Vol. XV p. 255.)
7. If we study the Buddhist worship and idolatry it appears that Vajrayānists imitated the style of Hindu worship. We know that गंध पुष्पदीप and अंगराग were essential articles for Hindu style of worship hence Buddhist used the same objects. These are mentioned in 9th Cent. Buddhist grant where गंध पुष्प धूप दीप and उलेपन were offered as gift to Arya Saṅgh (E. I. Vol. VI p. 286) The words वलिचरु पूजा of Pāla records connote

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Even the rule of *Ahiṁsa* was not adhered to by the Buddhists. If the word *Samatsyākāra* occures in the grants of Hindu kings[1], the explanation is justified ; but in the Buddhist grant of Pāla ruler Devapāla the word "*Samatsyah*"[2] goes against the principle of Buddhism and signifies that in the Agrahāra area the water tanks were used for fishing. The Donee was also authorised to collect the tax on fishing. This act of fishing goes against the very principle of *Ahiṁsā* preached by the Buddha. There ought to have been restriction to fishing in the grants of Buddhist rulers rather the saction of it. It appears that the fish eating was probably encourged by the Buddhist donors.

The history of Pāla rule shows that Bengal under Mahipāla (1005 A. D.) gradually came under Brahmanical influence while Bihar and Awadha (Patna to Ayodhyā under Mahipāla) remained Buddhist. In the beginning of 11th century Bihar continued as Buddhist state under successors of Mahipāla, but Awadha (under Kanauj king) came under Brahmanic faith. Therefore, we find that the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj were alive to the occasion and the records of Gāhaḍavāla rulers and Chandela kings go to confirm the above view. We find the feeling of harmony and donation to Buddhist institutions with open hearts though the kings were Hindus. Even the Gāhaḍavāla king Govinda Chandradeva came forward to marry Kumāradevī a lady of Buddhist faith.[3]

Respect to Buddhism by Hindus.

The feeling of Hindu rulers would be clear by studying their grants hailing from the northern India. The Gāhaḍavāla

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the same meaning (I. A. Vol. XV—Bhagalpur grant) The above discussion is suggestive that mode of worship was purely Hindu not known to the Buddhist before 8th Cent. A. D.

1. Grants of Gāhaḍavāla and Chandela rulers.
2. Monghyr grant (E. I. Vol. XVIII p. 306).
3. Sarnath record.

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records show that the rulers were Vaiṣṇavas[1]. Neverthless the significant epithet *Paramaṃ Māheśwara* adopted by them attests their devotion to Śiva[2], but their patronage to Buddhist faith is also testified. Govinda Chandradeva (1114-1154 A. D.) assigned several villages for the support of the Buddhist friars living in Vihāra of Jetabana[3]. Similar is the case of Chandela kings who granted five plaughs of land to Buddha's temple[4] and also to Baudh Vihāra[5] near Kāmpilya (Dist. Furukhabad, U. P.) another Hindu ruler donated land to Buddhist community settled there for the purpose of worship and repair of the temples[6]. Another example is of Kāyastha who donated image of Avalokiteśwar and Tārā for installation[7] in the temples. The above facts offer clear indication of a catholic and eclectic spirit of Hindus of the period under review. During the latter half of this age (700-1200 A. D.) Brāhmaṇas with a surprising adoptability and accommodation maintained their position intact and also adopted many points from Vajrayāna in the matter of theology. They cut the ground under the feet of their opponent who accepted Hindu principles and mode of

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1. Seals with the figure of Garuḍa and shell attached to the inscription :—
   (A) J. A. S. B. Vol. XLII p. 314.
   (B) E. I. Vol. XIV p. 197.
   (C) Ibid Vol. IV p. 118.
2. E. I. Vol. IX p. 125.
3. शाक्य भिक्षु संघाय विहारान्तर मर्यादया परिभोगार्थं महत्ता चित प्रसादेन आचान्द्रार्क्कं पुनरपि शासनी कृत्य ग्रामाश्मे षडपि दत्ताः ॥
   (E. I. Vol. XI p. 24).
4. A. S. I. A. R. 1929-30 p. 167.
5. E. I. Vol. XX p. 129.
6. Ibid Vol. VI p. 286 गंध पुष्प धूप दीप उपलेपन, खण्ड स्फुटित प्रासाद संस्कार।
7. Ibid Vol. XVIII p. 74.

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worship. The Buddhist kings strengthened the Hindu society in caste rules[1] which had no place in Buddhism.

Decline of Buddhism.

The decline of Buddhism was due to the lack of royal patronage. With the rise of the Guptas, the decline started and Śankara on dialectic grounds vanished his opponents, Kumarila had a tough fight with the Buddhists. But in logical disputation he met some defeat. With the ruin of Nālandā the decline was rapid but absorbing and assimilating power of Hindus was one of the main causes of this decline.

Historically with the fall of Pālas in Bengal, Buddhism had to face its bad days, there was Hindu revival in succeeding age. The Senas were followers of Brahmanical culture and Vedic rites, and hence they shew no favour to the earlier popular faith namely Vajrayāna. They were believers of Paurānic religion and hence we find seal of Sadāśiva (ten armed Śiva[2]) on Sena grants. This leaves no doubt that they were Śaivite and later on inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism as the records open with famous syllable *Om Namo Nārāyaṇāya* (a Vaiṣṇava Mantra[3]). In the Sena period the principle of Śiva-śakti was taken in the form of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. This love-dalliances gained popularity in Sena's regime which is sung by Jayadeva in 12th century A. D. in *Gita Govinda.*

The ascendancy of Brahmanical culture during Sena period clearly points out the decline of Buddhism after Pālas in Bengal (the heart of Vajrayāna) and we can say that Brahmanism influenced the people of Bengal (a centre of Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna). On account of growing supremacy

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1. Pāla rulers have been credited to have produced respective order in society वर्णान् प्रतिष्ठापयता स्वधर्मे (I. A. Vol. XXI p. 255) and चातुवर्ण्य समाश्रयः (Ibid p. 99) are mentioned in Pāla epigraphic documents. वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्थापन पटुः mentioned in many seals of Nālanda (A. S. I. 1917-18 no 347, 351).
2. E. I. Vol. XV p. 270.
3. Ibid Vol XII p. 7.

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of the faith Brahmanical deities were incorporated into Tāntric pantheon[1]. Ādi Buddha and Prajñā Pāramitā were Buddhistic concept on the line of Brahma and Māyā of Brahmanism. The Pauranic gods namely Gaṇapati and Sarswati got a place in Buddhism (Vajrayāna). The *Sādhanā*[2] for Gaṇapati agrees with the representation of Gaṇesha of Hindu pantheon. Many such images have been found in Bengal[3]. Sarswati also has similar place and her features are like ordinary Tārā. Regarding Mārīchī it may be doubted whether she had any connection with Sun-god. She has seven pigs as *Vāhana* like seven horses of Sun[4]. In Nepal she is called the goddess of dawn which may suggest that the notion of Mārīchī was changed without altering the form. The examination of the artistic specimens of Pāla age discovered in Magadha and Bengal would give a stamp to the gradual influence of the Brahmanical culture and faith over Buddhism.

Assimilation in Hinduism.

The Brahmanical influence over Vajrayāna becomes fairly clear by studying the history of Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā in Bengal. The emphasis in Vaiṣṇavism was laid on devotion or love and Vaiṣṇava, Śākta and Śaiva followed the cult of Bhakti. From 9th century A. D. dominating feature of Vaiṣṇava faith was the spirit of self surrender and seeking heaven by mercy of god. In Bengal Vaiṣṇavism there was the process of interaction of practices i. e. Vaiṣṇavism influenced the Vajrayāna ideals. This resulted in the evolution of a new cult in Bengal called Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā where *Sahaja* was *Śūnya* or Vajra or highest bliss.

The idea of Śiva and śakti was established in the Vajrayāna and hence Buddha was regarded Śiva and Tārā as Pārvatī[5].

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1. Indian Buddhist Iconog. p. 150; I. H. Q. Vol. VIII p. 341.
2. Sādhanamālā A 328 भगवंतं गणपति सर्वाभरणभूषितां ।
3. E. I. School of Med. Sculpture Pl. LX.
4. Indian Buddhist Iconog. p. 93 Pl. XXX (c) and (d).
5. I. H. Q. Vol. VIII p 335.
According to Dr. B. Bhattacharya Śakti worship was introduced in Vajrayāna for the first time in the history of Buddhism (Sādhanamālā Introd. Vol. III p. XXVI).

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(Śakti). This kind of inter relations between Hindu and Buddhist cults were so remarkable and the deities in these two religious systems were so much intermixed that it was very difficult to distinguish them. The position became very complicated and Hindus began to worship large number of Buddhist deities[1]. An unique four armed Hindu goddess standing on corpse was named Ugra Tārā[2] because there are five divinities — Kārttikeya, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Gaṇesha-carved on the conical top section of rectangular stele. It reminds the five miniature figure of Dhyani Buddhas on the top slab of Tārā and other Buddhist deities.

In Bengal Tāntric worship gained popularity and attracted masses so much that deities like Kāli, China = Māsta and Ṣaṣṭhi were adopted[3] in Hindu faith. The most important adoption of Buddhist deity by Hindus is the Buddha himself who was regarded as ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu in Hindu pantheon. This can be gleaned in the field of plastic and metallic art alike. Before Buddha was taken as incarnation of Viṣṇu, his icons were not prepared in the fashion of Hindu god. The adoption of Kirita Mukuta[4] of Viṣṇu in the image of Buddha[5] is a positive proof of artistic imitation. Thus Buddhists had no leg to stand apart. Jayadeva — the court poet of Lakshmaṇasena (12th century A. D.) also wrote similar songs in *Gita Govtnda* which is sung in the following verse :—

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1. Proceed. of 6th Oriental Conf. p. 350.
2. Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 198-202 Pl. LXVIII.
3. Ṣaṣṭhi is taken to be the protectress of children and hence very popular in Hindu homes. It is suggested that Ṣaṣṭhi worship is the Buddhist influence (Iconography in Dacca Museum p. 227).
4. E. I. School of Med. Sculpture Pl. IV no. (d).
5. Large number of crowned Buddhas-Ibid plates IV (d), XXI. XXIV (c), XXVI (d) Pāla and Sena sculpture no. 15. 17. Indian Museum no. 3713.

   Art and Architecture by Rowland Pl. 94 (a).

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निन्दसि यज्ञ विधेरहह श्रुतिजातं
सदय हृदय दर्शित पशुघातं
केशवधृत बुद्ध शरीर, जय जगदीश हरे।

Thus it appears that in Hindu society Buddha was worshipped by all Vaiṣṇavas and its echo was heard in the northern India. The artists also worked on the new ideals and they gave proper place to the Buddha in the Viṣṇu incarnations. We find carving on black slab of stone containing the ten figures of Viṣṇu incarnations in which Buddha has the 9th place[1].

If we survey the religious literature of this period after 7th century A. D. we find Buddha mentioned as incarnation of Viṣṇu at several places. *Matsya Purāṇa*[2] refers to the welknown ten Avatāras including Buddha as 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu. The same is mentioned in *Varāha Purāṇa*[3]. Our Smṛti writer Bṛiddha Harīta (9th century A. D.) enumerates ten incarnations but includes Hayagriva in the place of Buddha and expressly says that Buddha should not be worshipped.[4] It is very strange that Hayagriva (Buddhist male deity emanated from Akshobhya) was included where as Buddha was excluded. There seems to be no justification in rejecting the Buddha from the list. That idea continued in the later time and modern Jagannāth image of Puri is new form of Buddha worship.[5]

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1. Indian Museum no. 418; East Indian school of Med. sculpture P. 156 Pl. XLIX (a).
   Annual report Arch. Sur. Bengal circle 1901-2 p. 13.
2. Matsya Purāṇa 47, 247 Chapter 16.
3. मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नरसिंहोथ वामनः
   रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दशः
   (Vārāha 4. 2)
4. मत्स्यं कूर्मं च वराहं नारसिंहं च वामनं
   श्री रामं बलभद्रं च कृष्ण कल्कि नमव्ययम्
   हयग्रीवं जगद्योनिं पूजयेत वैष्णवोत्तम
   नार्चयेत् भार्गवं बुद्धं सर्वत्रापि च कर्मसु
   (वृ० हा० स० १०, १४५-६)
5. It is a matter of controversy whether Puri temple is Hindu or Buddhist. The images in the attached structure of main

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After inclusion of the Buddha in the list of incarnation, the assimilation was completed.

The process of decline of Vajrayāna was slow and gradual and the ascendancy of Śiva-Śakti cult was fatal for them (Buddhists). The Brahma of Śankar had nothing uncommon with Sūnyata of Nāgārjuna. The loss of royal patronage was apparent and less grants were given in favour of Buddhist cult. The Buddhist community could not keep themselves in well knit system and no contact could be maintained between laity and Saṁgha. The lay followers had no code to perform the social ceremonies like Hindus and Saṁgha gave emphasis to continue the code of rituals.

With the advent of Tantrayāna, the belief in Mantra and sexo-Yogic practices and worship of Vajrayāna deities were new methods to obtain heaven. The fall of morality, abhorent and licentious practices in Saṁgha were very important factors and root causes of the downfall of Buddhist faith in India. They thought that the highest bliss can be attained with the union of Śakti in other words female recluse without observance of chastity. The last but not the least factor was the absorption of Buddha in Hindu pantheon along with other deities. Buddhist transferred their religious allegiance to Brahmanic priest culminating their decline in this period. Elliot takes the disappearance of Buddhism in the land of its birth as almost a phenomina. Islam completed and hastened the fall by taking Buddhists in Islamic faith.

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shrine had previously Buddhist icons which were replaced by various Hindu images still standing in those big niches like structure. I personally examined the entire sculpture of Jagannāth temple and I am of opinion that it was a Buddhist temple which is taken over by Hindus.

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CHAPTER XII

JAINISM

Jainism in the early mediaeval age was not a popular faith in the eastern part of the northern India, though donations to Jaina temples and deities continued in our period. Jaina dharma once in flourishing condition, showed the sign of decline but tolerant Hindu rulers did not interfere rather helped Jaina community by charitable endowments. On the evidence of Udaigiri and Khandgiri caves in Orissa, it may be asserted that Jainism was prevalent in Eastern Indian during early centuries of the christian era but it lost its hold in that area during the period under review (700–1200 A. D.) It is a matter of surprize that no activity of Jaina community has been reported in the official documents of Eastern dynasties as its sphere was confined to the South and Western India. The Jaina caves of South and the records of that area would not form a part of our review but the inscriptions from Rājaputānā strengthen our view point. The examination of various records of Rājaputānā will show that Mahāvīra, Pārśwanātha, Śāntināth, Neminātha and Vṛiṣabhanāth were prominent among the Tīrthankaras worshipped in this area. From the very beginning Buddhism and Jainism had ardent followers in the land of its birth (N. Bihar), Magadha and Orissa. Buddhism attracted many ruling families and during Pāla period it was the state religion. But this was not the case with Jainism in Bengal and probably due to lack of patronage Jainas transferred their activities to the Western and Southern India.

From the study of the Pahārapūr copper plate inscription we learn that a Brāhmaṇa purchased some land for the expense of the worship (with necessary objects like Sandle, incense lamp and flower) of the divine Arhatas at the Jaina Vihāra[1]

1. E. I. Vol. XX p. 60–2 (विहारे भगवतां अर्हतां गन्ध धूप सुमन दीपाद्यर्थम ।

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named Vata Gohāli (N. Bengal). That institution was presided by the disciples of Nigranth preceptor. In the same area Hiuen Tsang also saw 100 deva temples among whom the naked nigrantha were more common.[1] Thus it appears that Jainism had its footing in Bengal from 5th century to 7th century A.D. These evidences prove that in pre-pāla age north Bengal had sufficient Jaina population, but the table was turned with the advent of the Pālas in Bengal.[2] The same Pahārapur area became the centre of Budhist activity in the time of Dharmapāla.

The critical examination of the records of different dynasties reveals that Jaina sect was favoured in Rājaputāna, and Central India. The people made endowments to Jaina Vihāras, temples and to the Tīrthankaras for the daily worship.

Jainism in the Central & Western India.

The Chāhamāna epigraph describes the king Thallaka as ardent follower of Jainism (*Jaindharma Parāyaṇa*) and other king Kakukarāja was benefactor of 8 Dramnas for worship of Śāntināth on *Śivarāttri* day. In the same continuation we are informed that the image of Śāntināth[3] in the Jaina temple was caused to be made by his grand father. Similarly another

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1. Beal–life Vol. II p. 195.
2. The discovery of Jain images of Pārśwanath from Bankura; Rishabhanāth from Dinajpur, Śāntināth from Burdwan and colossal icon of Mahāvīra indicates that Pāla rulers were tolerant towards this faith (E. Ind. school of med. sculpture plates XXVI–LXXVII). It may be stated that a few Jain images found in Bengal cannot testify to the firm footing of Jainas in Eastern India. In the face of thousand Brahmanical images and Buddhist icons of Pāla period the above Jaina images are not conclusive and no view can be held on their evidence. There is no reference to Jainas in the records of the Pālas.
3. पिता महेन तस्येदं शमीपाट्यां जिनालये
   कारितं शान्तिनाथस्य बिम्बं जनमनोहरम्
   (E. I. Vol. XI p. 32 V. 14).

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record[1] opening with Jaina syllable and with prelude in praise of Tīrthankara describes the erection of pārśwanāth temple which had been built by a Digambar Jaina in 1169 A.D.

In Jalor record Samarasinghadeva is credited to have constructed a temple of Pārśwanāth whose '*Dwaja* ceremony' was also performed by the donor[2]. Such reference are not wanting in other documents from Rājaputāna. Marwar inscription of king Rajadeva refers to the donation to Mahāvīra temple and Jaina ascetics living in that institution[3]. Besides Mahāvīra and Pārśwanāth, the 16th Tīrthankara viz. Śāntināth also caught the attention of the rich donors. The very prelude of the record in question begins with prayer[4] of this deity and it describes the gift to Jina-Mahāvīra.

A Parmāra record[5] dated V. S. 1166 A (1109 A. D.) gives a very detailed and vivid description of the foundation of Jaina temple and the consecration of image of Vṛiṣabhanāth. The epigraph opens with the famous syllable of Jainas and the following verse is devoted for the prayer to Jina :—

स जयतु जिनभानुः भव्य राजीव राजी
जनित वर विकाशो दत्त लोक प्रकाशः
परसमयतमोभिर्न स्थितं यत्पुरस्तात्
क्षणमपि चपलासद्वादि खद्योत कैश्च ।

The inscription further describes the construction of the grand temple[6] and installation of the icon of Vṛiṣabhanāth[7] by a meritorious Jaina community of Rājaputānā.

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1. Bijholi rock incription (Chāhamāna Record) E. I. Vol. XXVI p. 89.
   ओं नमो वीतरागाय
2. श्री पार्श्वनाथ देवे तोरणादीनां प्रतिष्ठा कार्ये कृते
   मूल शिखरे व कनकमयध्वजा दण्डस्य
   ध्वजारोपण प्रतिष्ठायां कृतायां (E. I. Vol. XI p. 55).
3. श्री महावीर चैत्ये साधु तपोधन निष्ठार्थे (E. I. Vol. XI p. 43).
4. E. I. Vol. XI p. 31 (Chahamān inscription)
   त्रिदुध पति विनुत चरणः, स शान्तिनामा जिनो जयति ।
5. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 54–55.
6. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 54–तेनाकारि मनोहरं जिन गृहं भूमेरिदं भूषणम् ।
7. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 54–(श्री वृषभनाथ नाम्नः प्रतिष्ठितं भूषणेन बिम्बमिद)

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The analysis of the above documents proves that during 11th and 12th centuries A. D. Jainism was followed by large number of people in Rajaputana. This sect received favour from the ruling chiefs and the common man as well. Two more inscriptions may be referred in the support of the above statement. A Hindu prince gave Dāna in favour of Jaina temple[1] and a Brāhmaṇa couple gifted land to Jaina Vihāra.[2] The Chāhamāna, Parmāra and Chandella rulers were tolerant kings and did not obstruct the prevalence of this faith. In Khajurāho the Jaina temples[3] and the images[4] are living examples of that sympathetic toleration, Many Jaina images have been found in Rājaputāna with pedestal record[5] mentioning the dedication of icons by individuals. The Dilwara group of temples (C. 1023–1232 A. D.) at Mount Abu display some of the finest examples of Jaina figure sculptures. Though Madhyadesha, Central India and Rājaputāna were prominent regions of Brahmanical culture where Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism had upper hand; still people had favourable attitude towards Jainism. It is a comedy that in the area of Brahmanical supremacy Jainas survived to this day. Their stronghold in Rājaputāna and Gujarāta did not suffer much from the iconoclastic fury of the first muhmmadan invasion. Most of the extant Jaina images from the early mediaeval period onwards are stereotyped in their treatment and were excuted acording to the set formula in which other cult-icons of the rival Indian creeds are present.

Influence of Brahmanic Culture

Like Buddhism, the Jainism was also greatly influenced by Brahmanic culture but it could not be digested by the Hindus. The Hindu system of worship was borrowed and other types

1. I. A. Vol. XL p. 145.
2. E. I. Vol. XX p. 61.
3. Pārśwanāth, Ādināth and Mahāvīra temples of Khajurāho.
4. Seated and standing Jaina icons have been found in Central India (14 feet high image of Rishavanāth).
5. E. I. Vol. XX App. p. 46–8.

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of ceremonies were adopted by Jainas, showing thereby that followers of Jaina faith were becoming idolaters. This can be gathered from a document of Chāhamāna king Ramapāla, in which 1/20 royal share of tax has been granted for the daily worship of the Jaina deity. This tax was levied on the loaded bullock carts coming from Nadlai town to the market. The main object behind this grant was to meet the expense of the articles for worship[1]. There is no doubt that this act (type of worship) was purely Brahmanical which was imitated by Jainas.

The famous Hindu ceremony Rathayātrā also attracted the attention of Jaina community who adopted it for their own Tīrthaṅkaras during 11th and 12th centuries A. D. In Lalrai inscription a reference is found of the gift of barley corn for celebrating the festive procession of Śāntināth in the year 1170 A. D.[2] It should be made clear that in Rājaputānā Hindus held the Rathayātrā celebration with great pomp and show and it was popular in that area. The Chāhamāna records give lengthy descriptions of the procession[3] of the deity in those days. Thus Jainas followed the system of Rathayātrā as organised by Hindus. It is similar to modern Rathayātrā of Jagannāth of Puri. Thus we find that Jainas following the Hindu festivals did not lose their entity. They settled in the area of Brahmanical culture and followed diverse professions. The literary activity was not unknown to them. A Jaina is described as expert in Śāstra, always wishing the welfare of others and inclined towards Dāna and *Tirtha*[4]. However, the History of Jaina literature informs that W. India was the land of Jaina

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1. श्री नेमिनाथ देवस्य दीप, धूप, पुष्प, नैवेद्य पूजाद्यार्थे
(E. I. Vol. XI. p. 37)

2. (A) गूजरी यात्रा निमित्तं श्री शान्तिनाथ देवस्य
(B) शान्तिनाथ देवयात्रा निमित्तं — जव दानं
(E. I. Vol. XI p. 50, 51)

3. E. I. Vol. XI p. 33, 39, 41; Vol. II p. 124; Vol. XIV p. 298.

4. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 53.
शास्त्र प्रवीणः, परिहृत विषयार्थो दानतीर्थप्रवृतः।

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scholars. Hemachandra and other Jaina logicians of Gujarāta lived in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D.[1] Haribansa Suri of Svetāmbar sect lived near Chittor in 12th century A. D. It is welknown that the first half of our period is regarded as golden age of Jaina literature[2] and the W. area was the centre of Jaina activity. The history shows that good many Kāvyas, semi-historical and non-canonical works were composed in that region during the centuries from 700–900 A. D.

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1. Vidyābhuṣaṇ — Hist. of Med. school of Indian Logic p. 45–47.
2. B. Upadhyay — Bhārtīya Darśan p. 147.
   Many famous Jaina writers like Dhaneśwarasuri, Dhanapāla and Śanti suri flourished in the court of Paramāra kings.

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CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages the endeavour has been made to describe the important features of the social organisation (based on archaeological data) during the period of transition that intervened between the rise and fall of Hindu powers and gradual conquest and establishment of muslim power in the northern India. The society was divided in many sub-castes and ramification of the castes was a special feature of the social system in the early mediaeval period (700–1200 A. D.). The hierarchy of Brāhmaṇas due to changed atmosphere and disturbed condition had to adopt themselves to circumstances and many of them migrated to comparatively peaceful areas for livelihood. This shows that Brāhmaṇas as an educative and cultural agents did not accept the city of Kanauj as only cultural centre of Āryāvarta. The Maga Brāhmaṇas, though beyond the pale of Chāturvarṇa, made their way in the heart of northern India (Bihar) and settled there in large numbers.

This age was the period of rise and fall of Rājapūta dynasties in northern India. Analytical study of all Hindu dynasties that ruled during the period under review reveals no central theme in their body politics. The intense localisation of group sentiment was fatal to the growth of Rājapūta chiefs. Between different political centres which thus came into existence there was a perpetual struggle for supremacy or dynastic prestige, weakening the will for a national focus. The Rājpūtas could not create a well-knit political hierarchy for the whole of northern India. In the beginning of this period the imperial city of Kanauj retained the national focus and the ruler of this city was probably regarded the greatest king of the country. This conception of honour was the cause of triangular fight between the kings of north (the Pratīhāras), south (the Rāṣṭrakūtas) and east (the Pālas). Though Arabs had appeared in India before Gūrajara Pratīhāras, but it was Nagabhata I who checked the stream of Islam which rolled on to central Asia and China. After the break up of the

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Pratīhāra empire, several feudatories declared independence, broke away from the imperial structure and set up independent governments. Each ruler cared for his own little territory, but among many princes struggling to capture the sceptre of the Pratīhāras, Chandela Dhanga (954 – 1008) and Vākapati Munja (C. 974–95 A. D.) are worth mentioning. It was no longer an Āryāvarta. It was Mālwā, Sākambhari, Khajuraho etc. which had to be maintained. When Ghorī invaded Ajmer Pṛthvirāja believed that the defence of one's own city was his concern and no one else's. Inspite of internal jealousies, the powers were all combined in sentiment against the muslim invaders, but fought them only by turns instead of in concert. Therefore the Rājaputas were defeated in the wars.

The change can be understood in the light of the factors governing the social and political growth. A socio-political unit can only be built up by co-ordinated activities of a group which enforces an uniformity of outlook and action on mass of people. In the case of Arabs the force had a group of well-drilled men who created a focus for maintaining the progress of the organisation. The armies of India were consisted of feudal chiefs (sāmantas) large and small and their retinues combining to defend the land under the stress of the crisis. The Rājapūtas had a tradition and were brought up in a well arranged social atmosphere which never developed the intrepidity to wrest the initiative from the enemy. The main important factor was the localised sentiments of Rājapūta powers who found it more attractive to have their own little centre of power than to stand together and face the strong army of Arabs. In the case of Rājapūta's decline the psychological factor was not less important. The enemy had an impelling corporate aim and the defeat of Rājapūtas mean conquest of land, huge amount of booty, women and position. Thus we find that the lure of gain kept the morale of muslims soldiers. Lastly the polygamous habits of Rājapūtās added to the disintegration of every royal house dividing the realm into smaller principalities at each succession. The distribution of lands among the members of the royal family reduced the kingship to a nominal headship.

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Inspite of all these vicissitudes the Rājapūta princes remained patron of learning. It is strange to find that in this transition period while the states were engaged in wars the literature flourished. The period under review is regarded as golden age of northern India in the field of literature and learning. The Rājapūta kings kept the Hindu tradition and maintained Varṇāśramadharma. Even when the power of king was destroyed or diminished the people could still rescue their life and culture. The kings of Rājaputānā, central India and Madhya Pradesa were predominantly Brāhmanical, but they kept a tolerant view of the whole thing and favoured the other faiths by grants.

This period is also noted for several changes in social organisation of Hindus. The Kāyastha, who was a class by profession (scribe) became a well organised corporation of Kāyastha caste and was included in the higher section of the society. Vaishys worked in the form of guild and carried the message of Indian culture in distant lands. The several low castes formed a group on the basis of their professions and consequently Śūdra was divided into many subcaste as mentioned by Alberuni and other writers. It has been suggested that all the low castes lived outside the town and they helped muslim in entering and destroying the forts. Among many other reasons the narrowness of Hindus presents a sad picture of the social system and is an unerring sign of degradation of Hindu society. The caste system was an important cause for various kinds of changes since the revival of Brāhmanical religion. Besides Brāhmaṇas, as leaders Kshatriyas wielded royal authority and enjoyed some amount of social prestige but Vaiśyas as caste practically vanished from Hindu society. In this age their descendants divided among large number of professional sub-castes.

The last characteristic of the society during early mediaeval period was the inroduction of Islamic element in Indian society and their contact with Hindu population. This is a decided fact that appreciable influence was felt by the muslim contact and the cultural contribution of Arabs are many but their

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influences were negligible in this period. The Hindu kings kept the Vedic or Hindu tradition alive and Smṛti writer like Devala started the new movement of reconversion from Islam. This move was to a great extent a check of Islamic conversion which was carried out on the point of sword by muslim Vandalism.

The period under review was most famous period in the history of Buddhism as well as of Brahmanism, popularly known as Hinduism. In the field of religion it was the period of Tantra and Mantra which effected the life of the people in the society. After 700 A. D. we find the development of Tantrayāna—the third phase of Buddhism in India, which culminated into Vajra or Sahaja-Yāna and finally was absorbed into Hinduism. The tantra influenced both the religious systems alike and hence mantra was introduced in the worship of the deity. The Hindu form of worship was so predominant that Buddhists and even Jainas imitated that method and that brought harmony among the different sects of the period.

The rise of this mysticism was some how connected with Bengal which played a great role in its dissemination throughout India. The leaders of this new movement have been all celebrated in Buddhist tradition as Siddhas, and their number is traditionally reckoned as eighty-four. These Siddhas lived between 10th and 12th century A. D. Therefore Buddhism under Pālas appears to have been completly different from the Buddhism which Hiuen Tsang described in the middle of 7th century A. D. The Mahāyāna had developed forms of mysticism which was known as Tantrayāna or Vajrayāna. These discussed the deeper metaphysical problems which had greater attraction for the religious man. Vajrayāna laid stress on ceremonials which had mystic implications whereas the former dealt with more advanced stage where ceremonials had no place. On account of the great emphasis on the esoteric aspects of religion, Buddhism was soon unhinged and ceremonials were completely eliminated. Soon after what remained of Buddhism was absorbed in the Brāhmanical Tāntricism. Buddhist images discovered in Bengal mostly belong to 9th,

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10th and 11th centuries A. D. Thus it appears that the assimilation of Buddhism began before the end of Pāla period.

The idea of Śāktism when fused with new form of Buddhism gave rise to new school of Śāktism called Kaula of which, the fundamental doctrines are found in the text discovered from Nepal which traces its origin to Matsyendranāth. The Nāthism also originated from the religion of Siddhāchārya and the great teachers were called Nāthas. The most famous amongst them were Gorakhanāth probably the same as Matsyendranāth.

As regards Hinduism, the condition was different what Hiuen Tsang described of this religion in the 7th century A.D. The patronage of pālas no doubt gave impetus to Buddhism, but it does not seem to have materially affected the dominant position of Brahmanical religion. We know that majority of images and inscriptions which may be assigned to the period between 8th and 12 centuries A. D. were Brāhmanical and not Buddhist. Inspite of existence of different religious sects side by side, there was no sectarian jealousy. In northern India a body of learned Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas secured their livelihood by private or royal charity. Although Vedic culture never ceased to be a living force, the Brāhmaṇa religion underwent great modification. The Veide gods disappeared and their places were taken by new divinities known as "Purāṇic deities". Thus we find the popularity of Panchāyatan worship i. e. worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Śakti and Ganesha. The Bhagavatism of the Gupta age found its way in this period under review and was firmly established in early mediaeval Period. The Vaiṣṇavism probably made a contribution to the systematisation of the theory of Avatāras. The final list of ten avatāras has been given by Jayadeva in his *Gita Govtnda*, which is confirmed by the sculptural specimens of the age. Every where the Buddha has the ninth place in the list. Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult was also well established in Bengal and Vaiṣṇavism turned Buddhist Sahajiya into Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiya. Though Pāla and Sena inscriptions contain references to the worship of Śiva but in the end Vaiṣṇavism had its strong footing in Bengal. Laksh-

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maṇa sena and his successors Keshava and Viśvarupa had sepcial leaning to the Vaiṣṇavite cult and their records begin with invocation of Nārāyaṇa.

In Śaivism Pāśupata was the oldest form which was prevalent in northern India. Āgamas declare Āryāvarta (the country to the south of the Himalaya, to the north of the Vindhya, to the east Pānchāla and to the west of Magadha) as the fittest place for Śiva Sadhana and they exclude Kashmīr, Kalinga, Gauḍa, Kāmarupa as unfit. Contrary to this statement we find good many records of Kāmarupa (Assam) mentioning Śaivism of the period as fully developed religion where Śiva was invoked as Parmeśwara, and Maheśvara Ādideva etc. In Bengal, the Pāśupata sect was popular which is clear from Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. The Sena kings Vijayasena also invokest Śiva under the name of Śambhu and his successors did not forget to pay homag to Sadāśiva (the family deity). Comparatively Śiva worship was morc popular in Madhyadesa, Central India (Chandela empire), Rājaputānā and Kashmīr. Gujarāta and Rājaputānā became the centre of Pāśupata sect while Kashmir developed another form of Śaivism technically called Kashmīr Śaivism or Pratyābhijna. Śakta cult and Sūrya worship were in no way less popular. The latter had nothing to do with Vedic solar deity of that name. A survey of Brāhmanism shows that some minor gods as Kārttikeya, Gaṇesha or Hanumāna etc. were honoured and worshipped by the people. It may be emphasised that intense religiosity characterised the people at large. Though extensive religious literature grew up during latter half of early mediaeval period (which is beyond the purview of our discussion) the archaeological specimens point out that religion exercised considerable influence over the mass of people in northern India.

The religious ideas and activities of the people in our period can be studied with survey of artistic specimens. It is religion which fostered the growth of the temples and images. In India the sculptures, fine arts and literature too are all connected with religion. Temple construction was a special feature of early mediaeval period, where images were

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installed and endowments were made for the worship of the deity. In most cases the temple becomes the centre of learning and Sattra (alms house) was attached to it for free distribution of food. In due coure the wealth of the temple attracted muslim towards it. Similar was the case of Hindu Maṭhas where chief was designated as Maṭhādhisha. Gradually he amassed a huge amount of wealth from gifts. In long run those heads of the Maṭhas became rich like a capitalist and that type of Maṭha is still common in India.

The period under review is the most important epoch of Indian history from several point of views :—

(1) It was the period of disintegration of northern India which culminated in consolidating that part of India by muslims.

(2) In this age Hinduism was the predominant religion which assimilated Buddhism declaring Buddha as 9th avatāra of Viṣṇu.

(3) Ramification of castes was another important feature of this period.

(4) Educational progress was one of the specialities of early mediaeval period. Besides Gauḍa, Kanauj, Dhārā, Ujjain, Khajurāho which acted as political and cultural centres, places like Nālandā and Vikramaśila assumed a position like great university centres where students from distant parts of India came to study. Nālandā became the famous international seat of learning.

(5) The literary activity was on the highest pitch and the period under review has been rightly regarded as golden age of Sanskrit literature. Almost every branch of learning drew the attention of the scholars and books were composed and written on all subjects relating to arts and science. Side by side we find the development of regional scripts—Bangali and Nāgarī.

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(6) It was a period of cultural expansion beyond Indian border and after 7th century A. D. Buddhism and Tāntricism were spread into Nepal and Tibet. These countries gave shelter to Indian scholars after the destruction of Nālandā and other places of cultural importance by Islamic invaders.

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Addenda Et Corrigenda

N. B. Readers are requested to insert the additions and corrections in the body of the book.
The word 'Brahmana' with capital 'B' is a misprint for small 'b' and 'the' article should be added.

P=Page L=Line FN=Footnote.

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352	11, 25	,,	The Pālas	,,	Palas

P. 22 F. N. 3 Add—

चातुर्वर्ण्य व्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते
स म्लेच्छ देशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः

विष्णु धर्मसूत्र 84, 1–4.

P. 23 L. 19 Add—Even in the seals and plaques of Nālandā (A. S. I. 1917–18 no. 347) the similar idea is contained. Inscriptions mention the following fact in a clear manner—

चतुसमुद्रान्तिकान्त कीर्तेः वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्थापन प्रवृत चक्र श्रीमहाराज लवने भगवतो महाराजाधिराज—In another plaque (Ibid no. 351) Harivarma has been described as प्रतापानुरागोपन्तान्य राजा वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्थापन प्रवृतः हरिवर्मा

P. 33. Add after L. 19—Gayāvāla brāhmaṇa. Some early medi-

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aeval records mention a class of brāhmaṇa known as Gayāla or Gayāvāla. This nomenclature is based on terretorial reason as other Pañcha Gauda brāhmaṇas are classified on the areas which each group occupy. The brāhmaṇas of Gaya (Bihar) are Venerated on certain religious occasions. Several records of Gaya (Bihar) namely Narasingh temple inscription and Kriṣṇa Dwarika temple epigraph, mention the brāhmaṇa as image of Brahma later fomous as Gayāla brāhmaṇa. Saktipur copper plate inscription of Lakshmaṇa sena cannotes the same thing (E. I. Vol XXI P. 219) श्री वल्लालसेन प्रदत्त गयाल ब्राह्मण हरिदासेन प्रतिग्रहित—It appears that after 10th century A. D. Gayāla (Gayāvāla) brāhmaṇas were exhalted. They occupied unquestioned status of tīrtha brāhmaṇas who received grants at Gaya Tirtha.

P. 108 F. N. 1 Add—Medhatithi on Manu (5, 88) Mitakshara on Yaj. (3, 6) Apararka P. 577. Baṇa has also described the five methods of suicide (uchchhvas V).

P. 108 F. N. 3 Add—Padma 44, 3 Matsya 107, 9–10.

गंगायमुनयोर्मध्ये कर्षाग्नि यस्तुसाधयेत्, तावद्वर्ष सहस्राणि स्वर्गलोक महीयते ।

P. 109 F. N. 1 Add—

वटमूलं समाश्रित्य यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत्
स्वर्ग लोकनतिक्रम्य रुद्रलोकं स गच्छति । (Kurma 37, 3–12)

The same is contained in other Purāṇas. The suicide near Vata at Prayāg is the source of salvation even without तत्वज्ञान (Kane-Hist. of Dharm-Śāstra Vol. IV P. 605) Kalpataru (1210 A. D.) devots special section to महापथ यात्रा at Prayāg and Kāshi—as places of suicide. Prithudaka (near Karual dist. modern Pahova) was also the place of suicide. (वनपर्व 83.)

P. 109 L. 1 Add—Yasahakarnadeva and Someswar of Chalukya family also Committed suicide at Prayag because ancient scriptures have suggested the release from re-birth in two ways—Tatvajyana and suicide at tirthas.

P. 110 L. 17—Such kind of suicide was not encouraged in the society as it was an act of condemnation (Manu V, 88)

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Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sutra (22, 56) descouraged this kind of action (आत्मत्यागिनः पतिताश्च न तौचोदक भाजः) It is regarded as *Kalivarjya* : (Journ of U. P. Hist. Soc. Vol. X, p. 65). Alberuni also referred to similar discouraged notion that religious suicide by burning etc is prohibited for the brahmaṇas and the Khatriyas (Sachau Vol. II, p. 170).

P. 154 F. N. 4 Add—In case of Sahamaraṇa a wife should not burn herself if she had young child or was in monthly illuess (Narada Purbārdha 7, 52).

P. 181 L. 22 Add—Yakshapala is said to have constructed a temple (11th Cent. A. D.) of Viṣṇu and a sattra was attached (I. A. Vol. XVI, p. 64)

P. 194 L. 22 Add—The Bihar hill image inscription (J. A. S. B. Vol. XIX, p. 106) describes a person as Mahānāvika possessing naval boats and chariots used by him as conveyance नौका समरथ शक्ति मामयिकस्य ।

P. 214 F. N. I Add—Viṣṇu icons with 16 hands are known from Rajaputana (*Brahmavidya*, Madras Dec. 1954).

P. 337 F. N. 1 Add—Similar tax was levied by Siddharaja of Anahilavāda (1143 A. D.) on pilgrims going to Somanātha, Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, pt. I, p. 172).

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GENERAL INDEX

A

Abu Khurdabda 92.
Ādi-Buddha 340, 341, 353.
Ādikeshava 212, 288.
Ādityasena 194, 260 note, 309, 334.
Ādityasura 39.
Advayarāja (scholar) 344.
Aghora Pantha 235.
Akshobhya 355.
Alberuni 7, 30, 49, 58–9, 88–9, 98 note.
On caste–92, 94, 365.
Maga, 257.
Marriage, 147–8.
Sati–153.
Meat eating–171, 173.
Dancing girls–297.
Games–190–1.
Aśrama–104.
Study of Veda and Vedānga 44, 68, 117, 124, 126–129, 131.
Worship–250, 259.
Dāna and Tīrtha–311, 322 note, 330, 335.
Alhanadevi 80, 87, 112, 171, 173, 204, 242.
Al Idrisi 62 note, 73, 266.
Allata 294.
Alms House 179–82.
Altekar, A. S. 62.
Amusements 191, 192, 193, 195, 196.
Ānanda Vardhana 133, 134 note.
Ardhanārishwara 228, 234.
Aryabhatta 185, 268.
Āryadeva 345.
Āryamāsa 315.
Āryāvarta 4, 18, 19.
Āśrama 104–6, 107, 178.
Matha 111–13.
Religious suicide 108–110.
Kāyatvrata 110.
Mamkham 110 note 5.
Avalladevi (Huṇa lady) 62.
Avanti 5, 209–10.
Avanti Varmana 23, 116–7, 134.
Ayana 268, 312–13.

B

Bakhatiyar 100–1.
Bālāditya 148.
Bālaputradeva 9, 138, 344.
Balavarmana 121.
Ballalasena 121, 184, 229, 300, 307, 316, 318, 319, 333.
Bāṇa 31, 47, 90, 106, 147, 187, 239.
Banerjee R. D. 59, 342.
Bappā Rāwal 232, 245.
Beggary 177–80
Bhāgirathi 79, 143.
Bhāmah 133.
Bhandarkar R. G. 241, 244, 252, 255.
Bhāskara Varman 23, 57, 181.
Bhaskar (scribe) 63.
Bhattacharya, B– 340.

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Bhattasali 250, 263.
Bhavabhuti 10, 133, 134 note.
Bhiladitya 107.
Bhīmapāla 49.
Bhojadeva (Pratīhāra) 9–13, 42, 63, 75, 85, 105, 106, 120, 174, 193, 200, 210, 220, 222, 262, 273, 277.
Bhoja (Paramāra) 19, 79, 172 173, 196, 213, 295, 299, 300, 316.
Bhojka (Jyotishi) 187–8.
Bhūtadāmara 186, 346.
Bhuvaneswar 213, 267, 281, 296–7.
Bilasadevi 318.
Bodhagaya 262, 265, 285.
Brāhmaṇa-caste groups 21–30, 32, 33.
Maga 29–31, 257.
Kulinism 39 note.
Food 17, 170.
Professions 43, 46–51.
epithets–51, 52, 56, 125.
Migration–34, 35, 39, 40, 42.
Punishment–58.
grants–44, 157.
Briggs 245.
Brough 34 note.
Buddhist beliefs 185.
Buddha as Avatāra 203, 223.

C

Caste, (low) 90–1, 95–6.
Cattle fair 196.
Chakravarmana 93.
Chakrāyudha 8, 9.
Champa 35.
Chamundā 250.
Chamunda Rai 76, 296.
Chandradeva 200, 288, 319, 334.
Chandasiva (architect) 136, 5.
Chandra gupta II. 240, 241.
Charak 168.
Charmaṇavati 172.
Chausatha Yogini 248.
China Māstā 354.
Cult and Sakti 247.
Cult objects 253.
Cunningham 161, 262.

D

Dahira 6, 49.
Dāna 300.
Transfer of sights 299.
Contents 299.
Three factors 301, 302
Rent paying 303.
Sale and mastgage 303.
Occasions 311, 312, 316.
Eclipse day 312, 318.
Place, (Tirtha) 310 314.
Purpose 298, 305–6.
Procedure 320–1.
Royal seal 301.
Registration 300–1.
Use of Kusha 322.
Verses by Vyās 325.
Dharma śloka 323–4.
Dancing girls 151, 295–7.
Devala 7, 101–2 (reconversion)
Devapāla 9, 37, 50, 77, 105, 136, 138, 181, 192, 194, 300, 306, 310, 344, 350.
Devayātrā 191, 307, 330–31.
Devendra Varmana 41.
Dharmādhyaksha 46.

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Dharmaditya 324.
Dharma gupta 73.
Dhanga 313, 333, 364.
Dhārā 79, 172.
Dharmapāla 3, 8, 9, 23, 36, 37, 42, 49, 64, 77, 143, 157, 192, 193, 199, 201, 205, 213, 215, 278, 285, 301, 309, 307-6, 344, 348, 349, 358, 362.
Dharni Varāh 14.
Dhīmāna (artist) 135.
Dhruba 8.
Dhyani Buddha 354.
Didda 40, 148, 216.
Digambar Jainas 359.
Dipankar 137.
Diwakar Mitra 130, 239.
Dress 163-4.
Drink 174-6 (tax on liqour)
Durga (different names) 248-9

E

Eclips 185-6, 238, 268-9, 313, 321, 329, 348, 318 (time for dāna)
Education 115-6, 119-20 (Vedic), 123, 124.
Vedanga 118, 125-127, 129, 131.
other subjects 130, 131-133.
Crafts 133-35, 139.
Princes 127.
Female 151.
Centres 116, 117, 130.
Buddhist 136-7.
Ekādasī 315.

F

Fa-hien 330, 338.
Faridapur 57.
Festivals 195 (lamp); 223-224 (Vaiṣṇava) 348, 349.
Food 169, 170 (spices), 182-3 (interdining) 350 (fish).

G

Gajalakshmi 301.
Gajasunda 266-7.
Games 191 (chess), 91, 190, (acrobatic) 93 (hunting), 190 (Wrestling), 191 (Gambling).
Gangadhar (poet) 149, 337.
Gangadhar (Mantri) 180, 236.
Gāngeyadeva 142, 149, 154, 213, 216, 242, 334.
Ganikā 154-5.
Garga (minister) 36. 37, 50, 309.
Ganesha 269-71.
Gaud 5, 26, 28, 83, 85, (Kayastha) 83-4.
Gaudapāda 130.
Gayakarna 112.
Ghānak 170-1, 290, 307.
Ghurye 245.
Gopal I. 344
Gopachandra 57, 324.
Gorakhanāth 244, 367.
Gorakhapur 28, 29, 38.
Gosain 115.
Goṣṭhi 293.
Govindachandradeva 20, 28, 54, 60, 68, 86, 98, 99, 120, 136, 139, 150, 170, 174, 187, 192, 193, 204, 288, 304, 308, 311, 318, 319, 320, 334, 350.
Govindaraja 129.
Grahabhatta (architect) 134-5.

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Grierson 31.
Guhadatta 13.
Guilds 71–72, 77.
Gurukula 178.
Guvaka I 12.

H

Habib (Prof.) 15.
Hall 322.
Hallakshana 275.
Hair dressing 164–5.
Hanumana 273–5.
Haribans Suri 362.
Harihar mūrti 215.
Harishchandra 148, 174 (Pratihar king).
Harishwar maṭha 295.
Hāriti 189–90, 253.
Harsha (Chāhamāna King) 3, 5, 6, 13, 27, 187, 258, 279, 301.
Harshadeva (Chandela) 11, 12.
Harsha Vardhan 23, 227.
Hastinapur 27.
Hastipāda 36–38.
Hātaka (officer) 77.
Hayagriva 355.
Hazara 329.
Hemachandra 362.
Hemadri 310, 325.
Heaven and hell 184–5.
Hiuen Tsang 130, 138, 366–7.
Medicine 132.
Marriage 144.
Widow 153.
Dress 162
Food 168–9.
Colour of teeth 166.
Myths 184.
Dancing girls 155.
Character 157.
Śaiva sect 227, 239.
Jaina cult 358.
Monastery–285.
Hodivala 257.
Horse fair 196 (a tax)
Hullishah 6.
Humiliating figures 202.
Hunting 190, 195.
Huviska 339–41, 272, 306.

I

Ibn Haukala 175.
Ibn Khurdabda 62, 148.
Indra III 10, 14, 42.
Indra Raja 12.
Indrāyudha 8.
Itsing 158, 163, 344.

J

Jaggaladeva 83, 112, 269, 274–5.
Jagiradara 53, 54.
Jaina Tirtha 357.
Jaipala 49, 212.
Jats 68–9.
Jayachandra (King) 46, 52, 56, 61, 67, 120, 134, 141, 259, 311, 315, 316, 319.
Jayadeva (Poet) 26. 133, 149, 199, 203, 209. 218, 219, 222, 273. 334, 354.
Jayapāla (scribe) 83.
Jayāpida 327.
Jayasingh 62, 175, 179, 228, 301, 306, 333.
Jayaskandhā war 311.
Jaya Varmana 275.
Jetabana 204, 351.
Jhola 334.
Jimuta Vahana 129.

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K

Kailash 213.
Kajangala 35.
Kalhan 113, 133, 153.
Kālingara 9, 12, 41 (migration)
Kallapāla 74.
Kanaphatā 245.
Kanauj 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 18, 19, 27, 41, 42
Camp 193.
Kolanch 37, 38.
Brāhmana 27.
Migration 37.
Kapalika 237-9, 243-5.
Karnadeva, 42, 84, 104, 142.
Kartikeya 272.
Kayastha (sub groups) 82, 83, 86-87.
Scribe 81, 82, 84, 85.
Councillor 85.
Kedāra misra 57, 119.
Keshava sena 32, 55, 260, 368.
Khajuraho 12, 213, 220, 248, 281-2.
Khalifa Haruna 132-3, 151.
Kielhorn 105, 247, note 264, 322, 333.
Kirti Varmana 216.
Konarka 260.
Koshala 3, 36.
Krisna Raja 229.
Krisna III 9.
Kshatriya 57, 58, 60, 61-63,
Honourific 64, 67, 69.
Education 67.
Profession 64, 65.
Rewards 66.
Reconverssion 67.
Kshemakar 23.
Kshemendra 73, 218, 273.
Kshemagupta 148.
Kumāradevi 136, 204, 288, 301, 341, 359, 352.
Kumāragupta 250, 257.
Kumārila 130.
Kurkihāra 135.
Kusika 240.

L

Lakshmidhar 20, 50, 320.
Lakshmana sena 32, 121, 134, 188, 194, 199, 201, 229, 251, 300, 307, 316, 318, 320, 326, 354. 368.
Lakhanauti 100.
Lakshmanaraja 213.
Lakshml Nārāyana 216.
Lakulina 239-41.
Lilitaditya 113, 114, 237, 279.
Lāta 40, 42, 112, 242, 243.

M

Macdonell 262.
Madandeva 289, 294.
Madanpāla 150, 205, 237, 288, 305.
Madana Varmana 149, 275.
Mādhava 135.
Madhuka 174.
Madhupāna 173.
Madhyadesha 10, 35, note 36.
Magas 256-7.
Mahabhava gupta 324.
Mahadāna 307, 317-9.
Mahamad 15, 18, 42.
Mahasena Gupta 194.
Mahendrapāla 10, 12, 13, 42, 134, 149, 164, 180, 200, 239, 248, 294, 343.

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Mahidhar (artist) 136 not.
Mahipala 10, 11, 14, 121, 136, 139, 205, 314, 347, 349, 350.
Malhar 45.
Mandasora 257.
Mansa (goddess) 189, 253–4.
Marcopolo 110, 297.
Marichi 188–9, 353.
Martand (temple) 260.
Maskari 239.
Mātrika images 250.
Matha mayura 246.
Matha 111, 113–115, 117, 237 (Mathadisha).
Medhatithi 22, 129.
Mihiragula 258.
Mirasi 141.
Mlechchhadesa 4.
Muhamad bin. Kasim 71, 49.
Mukhalinga 226.
Mularāja 14.
Multan 6, 7–9, 31, 101, 259, 266.

N

Nadlai (market) 76.
Nagabhatta 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 18, 200, 363.
Naganika 78.
Nagavarma (artist) 136.
Nahapana 309.
Naimitika 127, 187.
Nālandā 9, 80, 137–9, 168, 255, 285.
Nan-Nārāyaṇa 199.
Narasingh 221.
Naravarman 224.
Navagraha 266.
Nārāyaṇapāla 50, 62, 8[illegible], 107, 113, 129, 132, 182, 194, 201, 205, 208–9, 213, 230, 237, 238, 243, 278, 286, 288, 306, 326, 343, 348, 368.
Nata 190.
Natarāja 233.
Nāth cult 244–5.
Nauvitana 194.
Nohala 246.
Nohaleswar matha 182.

O

Ojha G. H. 172.
Onkar Śivāchārya 294.
Orissa temples 280–1.

P

Padma nabha (astrologer) 127, 267.
Paharpur 96, 111, 215, 284–5.
Seal 344.
icons 343.
architecture 283–4.
Palhaṇa (artist) 136.
Palika (measurement) 74–77.
Panch mahāyajna 328–9.
Pañchāla desha 37.
Panchayatan 200, 269.
Pandya desh 40.
Pariṣada 195.
Parivara devata 235, 251–2.
Parivrajika 115.
Parmārdi 33, 54, 67, 84–6, 89, 132, 213, 216, 231.
Parva 330.
Pastimes 190.
Pāsupata sect 112, 132, 231, 232, 238–43, 295, 301, 348, 368.
Patanjali 168.
Pavitri 322.

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Polygamy 149.
Prabhakar Vardhana 23, 258.
Prabāsa 45.
Prayaschita 175, 182.
Prithviraja 99, 147, 180, 364.
Prithivideva 98, 274.
Pundravardhan 26, 35, 143.
Puskar 27.

R

Radha 38.
Rāhu (attack on solar system) 185–6
Rajadeva 359.
Rajasekhar 10, 133–4, 148.
Rajyapala (King) 76, 78, 149, 241.
Rajyavardhan 258.
Ramabhadra 9.
Rāma cult 222, 273.
Rāmapāla 187, 288, 343, 361.
Ratnadeva 112, 127, 236, 269, 295.
Ratnakar 133.
Ratnapala 323.
Rathayātra 74, 80, 291, 306–7, 330–2, 315, 361.
Religious life 276–8.
Toleration 303–6.
Donation 288–90.
Suicide 334.
Rusā (lady doctor) 133, 151.

S

Sadāśiva 201, 229, 233, 301.
Sahaja 353.
Sahaja Sundri 188.
Sahi Coins 49.
Saiva cult 112 (Pasupata), 113 (Matha) 235–6.
Saivism (four schools) 238–45, 226–9.
Sāhadvīpi 30, 257.
Sakti cult 247–8, 251–2.
Saktas 200.
Sāmba 30.
Sāmantasena 32, 107. 155,
Samarasinghdeva 359.
Samskāra 140–1, 144–6 (marriage) 142 (Śrāddha), 311, 352.
Samudragupta 319.
Samyogita 147.
Sankalpa 321.
Sankara 130.
Sankarṣana 222–3.
Sankar Varman 327.
Sankrānti 313–4
Śānti nath 358.
Sānti suri 362.
Sapta mātrika 248.
Sarnath 267.
Sarthavaha 80.
Sarva nath 57.
Śasānka 226.
Ṣaṣṭhi 189–90, 253–4, 354.
Sati 153–4.
Sattra 179–82, 238, 243, 306, 309, 348.
Sawarmati 13.
Sherring 13.
Shitalā 253–4.
Sindh (muslim settlers) 101.
Sinharaj 310, 335.
Śiva Cult 229–30, 233.
Skanda Gupta 257.
Social life 158–61, 165–68, 169, 174–5.
Sodha deva 11, 28, 38, 56, 60.

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Somanāth 180.
Somapur 285.
Somaraja 45.
Someswar (artist) 135, 237.
Śravasthi 35, 38.
Śreni 79, 80.
Sri Harsha 133, 134.
Sri Khajura Vāhaka 12.
Subhakar (scribe) 87.
Suicide 108–9.
Sulaimana 73, 150, 153, 160, 164.
Sukradantā 182.
Sun-mythology 267–8.
Superstitions 107, 183–5.
Sun cult 255–7, 261, 265.
Surapala 50, 119, 343.
Surya Ghosa 204.
Susthita Varmana 194.

T

Takamana 256.
Tāmralipti 79, 344.
Tantrayāna 338–40.
Tantric religion 199.
Tārā cult 188, 252, 341–43, 346.
Tāranātha 344.
Tārika–194.
Temples, Viṣṇu 212–3.
Śiva 230–2.
Sun 257–61.
Styles 280, 284.
Khajuraho 231, 296, 360.
Lingarāja 230.
Construction 212–3, 276–7.
Repair 285–6.
Mandpas 279–80.
Temples-Administration, 286, 293–5.
Tax 279.
Oscene figures 282–3.
Dancing girls 296.
Thaneswara 259.
Tīrtha 333–6 (place for salvation).
Tirthayātrā–349.
Toramāṇa 258.
Trade (in food material) 179.
Trailokya Varmana 41, 66, 326.
Trailokya malladeva 304.
Tribes 95 (Dhiru) 96 (Subara and Pulinda).
Trivikrama 212, 215, 216.
Tod 154.
Turuṣka 97–99.
Danda (tax) 100.
Reconversion 101.

U

Udai Singhdeva 307.
Ugra Tārā 251–2, 354.
Upachāra 288–9, 292.
Upanayana 146.
Urusringa 281.
Uttarā Path 3, 4.

V

Vachaspati Misra 130.
Vagiswari 255.
Vaidyanāth Maṭha 112.
Vainya Gupta 293, 324.
Vaiṣṇava Mantra 225.
Vaiṣṇava movement. 210–2.
Vaiṣṇava Sahajiya 203, 353.
Vaiṣṇava saṁkranti 224.
Vaisvadeva 292.
Vaisya 70–71, 80.
Trade 72–75 (tax).
Member of goṣṭhi 80.
Transport 78.

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Sārthavaha 72-3.
Distillation 74.
Economic position 79-80.
Vajra Sattva 340.
Vajrayāna 342 (centre), 345 8.
Dietics 341-3, 345-6.
Hindu mode of worship 349-52.
Decline-352.
Vākpati rāja 39-41, 67, 157, 309, 364.
Vallabhadeva 181.
Vanamāla (King) 155.
Vanik 70-1, 75 6 (tax), 170, (industry).
Varāhamihir 30, 257, 291.
Vasant 195.
Vasudeva Sarmana 208, 307.
Vatsa raja 8-10.
Vedic Āśrama 116, 198 (sacrifice).
Vidyabhusana 137, 362 (F. n.).
Vigrahapāla 9, 23, 37, 107, 120, 205, 236, 301, 348.
Vigraharāja 12, 232, 242.
Vijaya Ghandra 99.
Vijaya sena 32, 38, 55, 59, 119, 121, 126, 139, 152, 156, 175, 194. 229, 230, 297, 307. 338-40, 368.
Vijyaneswar 129.
Vikramasila 137.
Vimala śiva 304, 333.
Vinasana 35.
Vipul Srimitra 180, 285.
Visal deva 47, 98.
Viṣṇu 199, 214-5.
Names 211-12.
Avatara 218-22, 355.
Viṣṇu gupta 139.
Visveswar Prajna 242.
Viswarupa sena 32, 121, 201, 224, 260.
Vitapala (artist) 135.
Vitta Bandha 304.
Vyomaśiva 113.

W

Wima Kadphises 176, 226, 272.
Widow remarriage 153.
Woman—
(Didda and Sugandha) 151.
(Duty of household) 152.
(Devadasi) 156.
(Village female) 158.

Y

Yamini 15.
Yasah Karṇadeva 83, 120, 148, 210, 304, 323.
Yasapala 83.
Yasovarmana 12, 134, 137, 275.
Yogarāja 316.
Yuvarāja 112.

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PLATES

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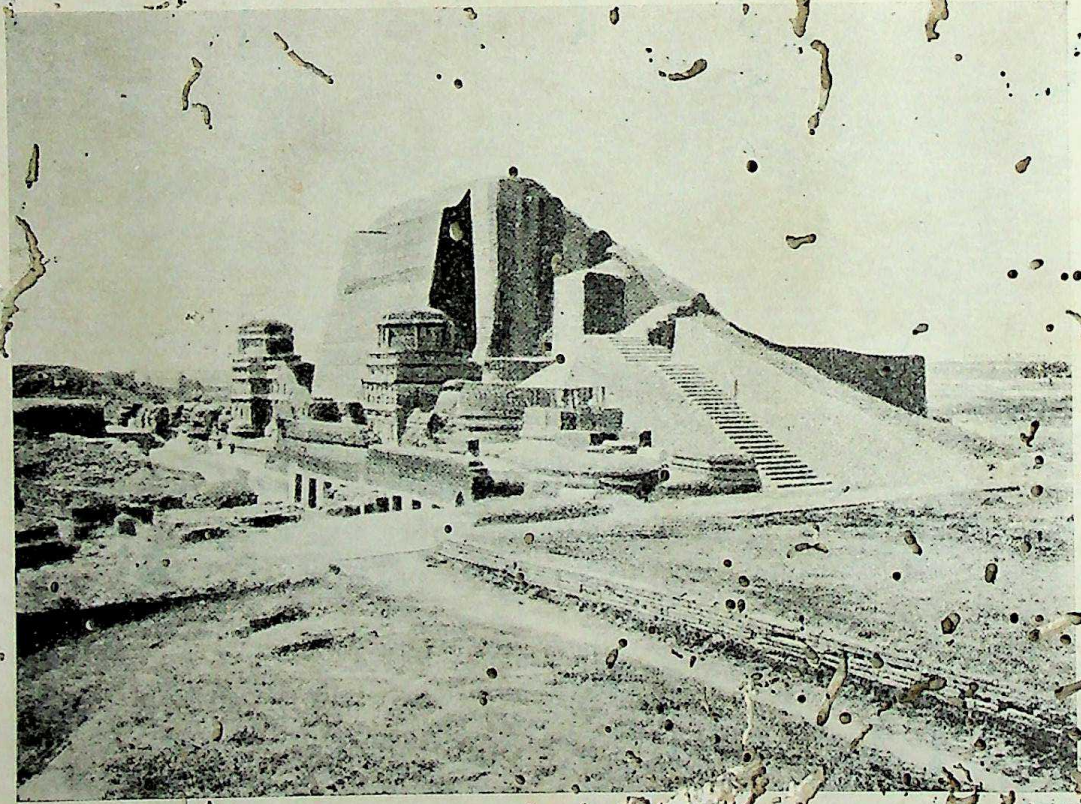
PLATE 1



Nālandā Stupa and [illegible]

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PLATE

Śiva-Pārvatī
(Marriage scene)

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PLATE 3

Female hair-dress.

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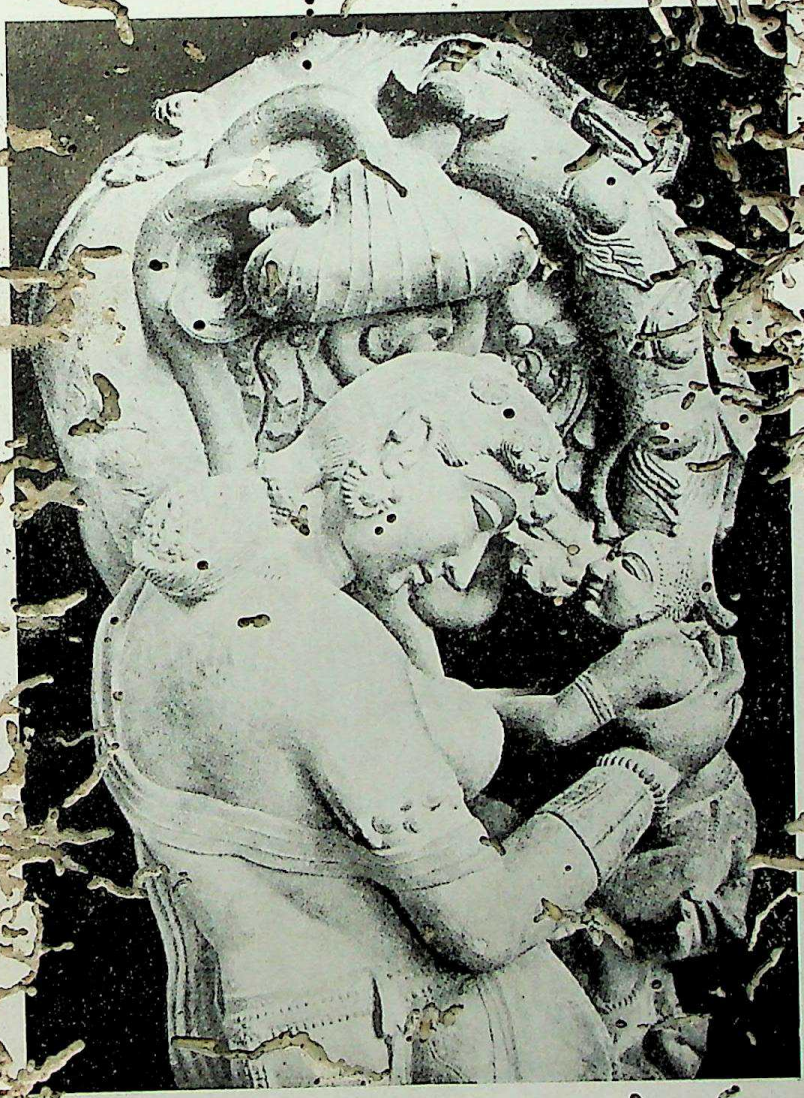
PLATE 4



Mother with child

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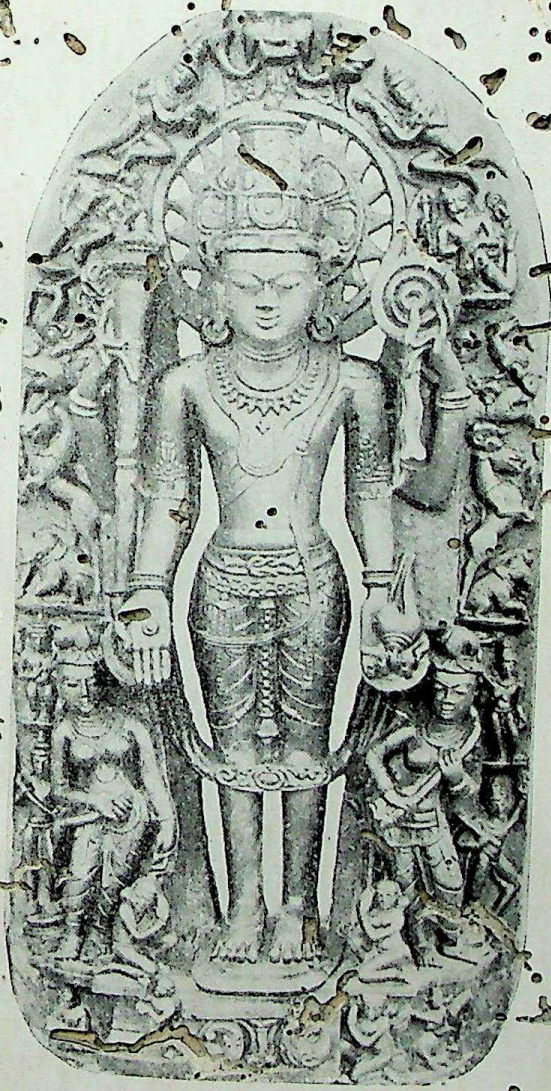
PLATE 5



Viṣṇu with Ten Avatāras

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PLATE 6

Vishnu (Vamana) [illegible]
Measuring three steps

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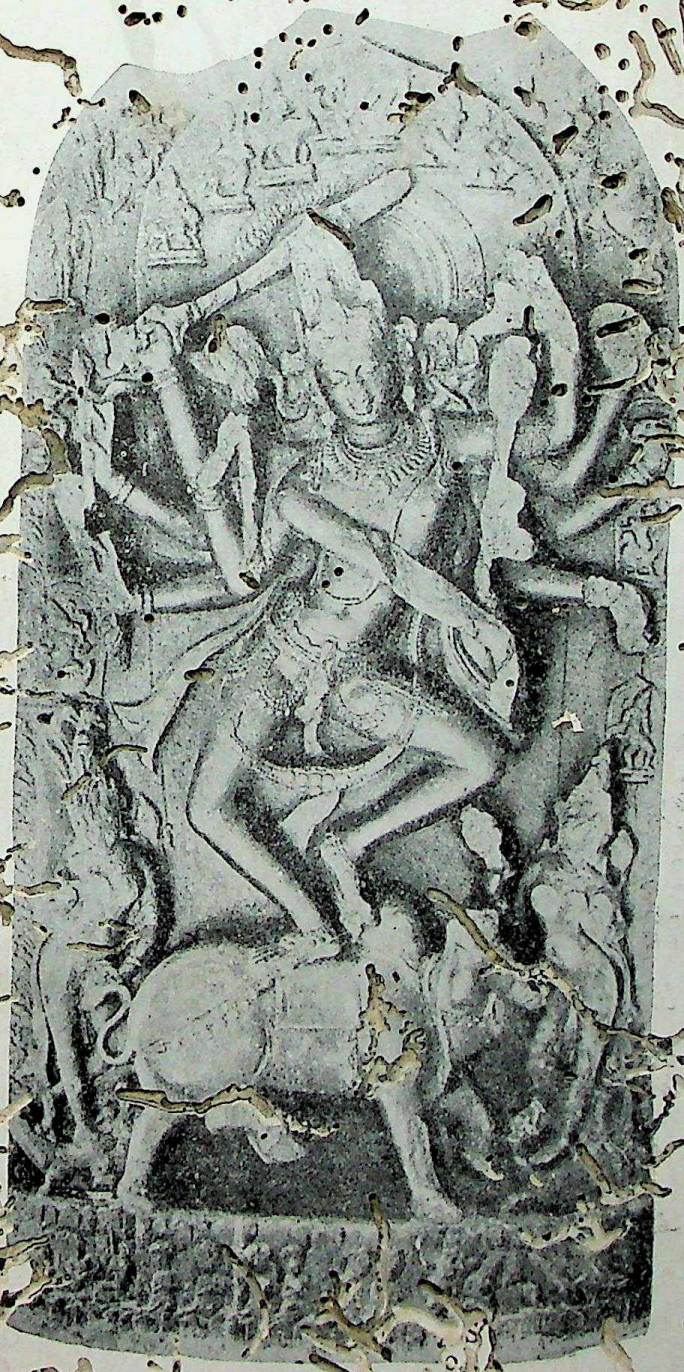
PLATE 7



Śiva Natarāj dancing pose

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PLATE 8

Sūrya

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PLATE 9

Durgā destroying Buffalo Demon

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PLATE 10

Temple K[illegible]urāho Style
(Kandar[illegible]vanahādeva)

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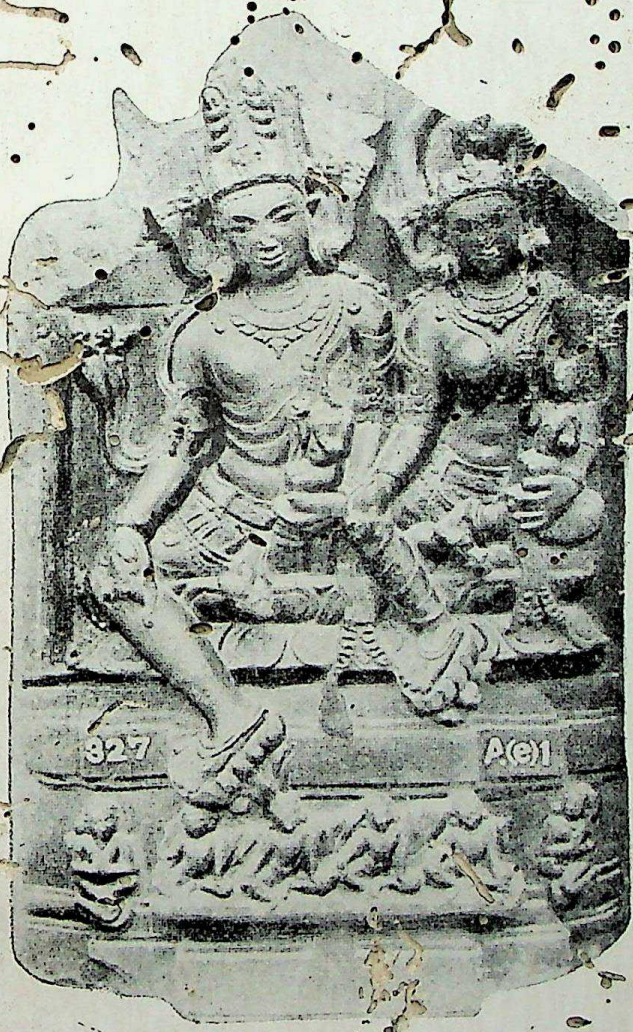
PLATE 31



Hārītī and Vaiśravaṇa

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PLATE 2

Tārā (Vajrayāna deity)

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